THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVI *July 1952* NUMBER 3

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVI *July 1952* NUMBER 3

Published quarterly by The New-York Historical Society
at 170 Central Park West, New York 24, N. Y.

75 cents per copy *$3.00 per year*

CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET

NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter under act of
August 24, 1912, at the New York Post Office

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE, *Honorary President*
FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D., *President*

LeRoy E. Kimball . . . . . *First Vice-President*
Louis C. Wills . . . . . *Second Vice-President*
Forsyth Wickes . . . . . *Third Vice-President*
_____ . . . . . *Fourth Vice-President*
Archer M. Huntington . . . . . *Foreign Corresponding Secretary*
William T. Van Alstyne . . . . . *Domestic Corresponding Secretary*
De Witt M. Lockman . . . . . *Recording Secretary*
Thomas W. Streeter . . . . . *Treasurer*

Term Ending 1953	*Term Ending 1954*	*Term Ending 1955*
Henry O. Havemeyer	Irving S. Olds	George A. Zabriskie
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.	John E. Parsons	Charles E. Dunlap
Hall Park McCullough	_____	Lewis Gouverneur Morris
	Term Ending 1956	
John V. Irwin	Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.	Edmund Astley Prentis

STANDING COMMITTEES

On Building	*On Membership*	*On Lectures*
Henry O. Havemeyer	John V. Irwin	Lewis Gouverneur Morris
Charles E. Dunlap	William T. Van Alstyne	John V. Irwin
Edmund Astley Prentis	_____	Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
On Library	*On Museum*	*On Nominations*
LeRoy E. Kimball	Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.	Henry O. Havemeyer
Thomas W. Streeter	Archer M. Huntington	Charles E. Dunlap
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.	Lewis Gouverneur Morris	Irving S. Olds
On Fine Arts	*On Finance*	*On Plan & Scope*
Forsyth Wickes	Thomas W. Streeter	Irving S. Olds
DeWitt M. Lockman, N.A.	LeRoy E. Kimball	Thomas W. Streeter
Henry O. Havemeyer	William T. Van Alstyne	LeRoy E. Kimball
Hall Park McCullough	Forsyth Wickes	Forsyth Wickes
Charles E. Dunlap		Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.
		Henry O. Havemeyer
On Publications	*On Law*	*Ex-Officio, All Committees*
LeRoy E. Kimball	Louis C. Wills	Dr. Beekman (President)
Thomas W. Streeter	Forsyth Wickes	Mr. Streeter (Treasurer)
Arthur H. Merritt, D.D.S.	Irving S. Olds	Mr. Vail (Secretary to the Board)

DIRECTOR . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Librarian . . . . . Dorothy C. Barck
Curator of the Museum . . . . . Richard J. Koke
Editor . . . . . Charles E. Baker
Supervisor of Education . . . . . Francis W. Bilodeau
Supervisor of Public Relations . . . . . Meryle R. Evans
Superintendent of Buildings . . . . . Garrett H. Winter

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

VOLUME XXXVI JULY 1952 NUMBER 3

CHARLES E. BAKER, *Editor*

CONTENTS

Introduction to Franco-American Relations as Reflected in the Society's Collections . . FORSYTH WICKES 249

Meyronnet de Saint-Marc's Journal of . . . the Siege of Savannah, 1779 . . . . . ROBERTA LEIGHTON 255

Gentleman from Geneva: Albert Gallatin, Jeffersonian Democrat . . . . RAYMOND WALTERS, JR. 289

The Correspondence of Voltaire and Madame Gallatin, 1758–1772 . . . . . CONSTANCE D. SHERMAN 301

Gallatin Revisited: While Kings Defied the Will of God—A Glance at Our Minister's Mail . WAYNE ANDREWS 336

Book Reviews and Notices:

Lawrence, *Storm over Savannah* . . . . ROBERTA LEIGHTON 344

Morris, *Incredible New York* . . ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR. 345

Jensen, *United States during the Confederation*
McCormick, *New Jersey in the Critical Period*
E. MARIE BECKER 347

Hale, *Virginia Venturer . . . William Claiborne 1600–1677* . . 351

Caldwell, *Tour Through Part of Virginia . . 1808* 351

Van Alstyne, *American Crisis Diplomacy* 351

Activities of the Society 352

Recent Accessions 354

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE
FOR STATEMENTS IN SIGNED ARTICLES

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE (1757–1834)

Who aided the American cause as a Major General in the Continental Army and who urged D'Estaing to participate in the attempt to take Savannah from the British in 1779.

Oil painting by F. G. Casanova (1727–1802)

Gift of Mr. Forsyth Wickes, 1939

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

July 1952

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER THREE

New York: 170 Central Park West

INTRODUCTION TO FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

AS REFLECTED IN THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S COLLECTIONS

by FORSYTH WICKES*

STUDENTS of Franco-American relations during their earliest times are faced with what might be called a study of inconsistencies. When the Eighteenth Century was coming of age, France, governed by an absolute monarchy, supported by an intrenched aristocracy, fought colonial America and Great Britain for a dominant position in North America and lost. Not long thereafter, the same absolute monarchy and intrenched aristocracy gave powerful financial, naval, and military support to colonial America in a war with Great Britain, the declared

* Mr. Wickes, Third Vice-President of this Society and a member of its Board of Trustees since 1938, has long been a student of Franco-American relations and an important collector of original materials pertaining thereto. A Commander of the

purpose of which was to separate those colonies from the mother country and found therein the first republic since the days of the Greeks and Romans.

What a contrast in ideologies that alliance presented! It can, of course, be argued that France in aiding colonial America was rather attacking a soft spot in the British Empire, her natural enemy, thus serving her own political purposes rather than aiding the colonies for the colonies' sake. But, curious as it may seem, in spite of differences in ideologies, language, and education and the lack on the part of the colonists of many of those amenities which make for agreeable human intercourse and are possessed by older civilizations, the officers and men of the French and American armies worked together in harmony after they had had an opportunity of taking each other's measure. Rochambeau, by education and experience a noted military leader and contributing a substantial body of highly trained and well-equipped troops to the alliance, agreed without discussion to serve under Washington. On the other hand, Washington allowed himself to be persuaded by Rochambeau, who understood the influence of sea power on military operations, to abandon his plan for an attack on New York and concentrate the allied forces on bottling up Cornwallis in Yorktown, in which operation the support of the French Navy would be decisive.

During the years that have followed the victory of Yorktown and the founding of the Republic of the United States of America, France has seen many different forms of government—republic, consulate, empire, monarchy, republic, empire, republic—but throughout these many changes that early friendship

---

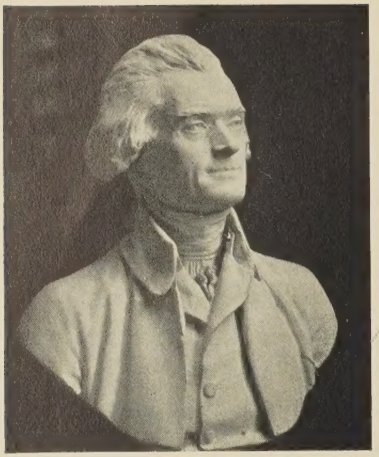
Legion of Honor, Mr. Wickes serves on the Board of Directors of the Carnavalet Musée of Paris and is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the French Institute in the United States and of the Board of the Lycée Français de New York. Among his important gifts to The New-York Historical Society are the Casanova portrait of Lafayette, reproduced on the page opposite, and Meyronnet de Saint-Marc's journal of the siege of Savannah, published for the first time in the article immediately following this Introduction.

founded on the battlefield of Yorktown has continued and grown stronger as the years go on. The political frontiers of the United States, because of the great discoveries of science, mechanics, and engineering, have extended beyond the ocean and in the two great world wars American troops with the mission of defending and freeing France have crossed the ocean to the eastward instead of a French army crossing the ocean to the westward.

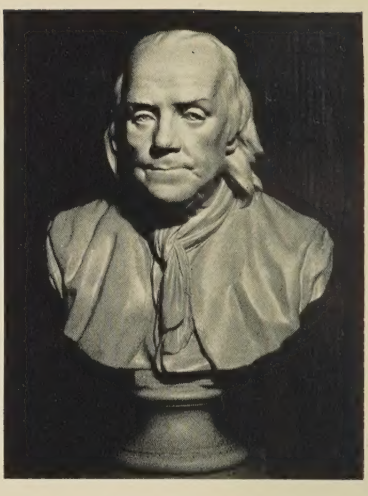
Great as was the service rendered by France to the United States in its infancy, an almost greater service was rendered in the years that followed by the spread in this country of French culture which was made possible by Americans finding themselves, because of that strong affinity they have for the French character and point of view, more at home in that country than elsewhere, flocking there in great numbers and absorbing not only as students but as travellers that rich civilization, the existence of which has made France the educational center of the world.

As evidenced by the contents of this copy of the *Quarterly*, The New-York Historical Society library and art and historical collections are rich in material relating to Franco-American relations and the lives and achievements of the men who played a great part in creating those relations. The Meyronnet de Saint-Marc Journal gives an intimate picture of a naval and military operation jointly undertaken by Admiral D'Estaing and American forces led by General Lincoln, which, while it was unsuccessful largely on account of too generous treatment accorded to the British officer commanding Savannah, shows how on short notice and with little planning or study of what is called logistics, two different races cheerfully undertook a joint operation and incurred heavy casualties but indulged in few, if any, recriminations.

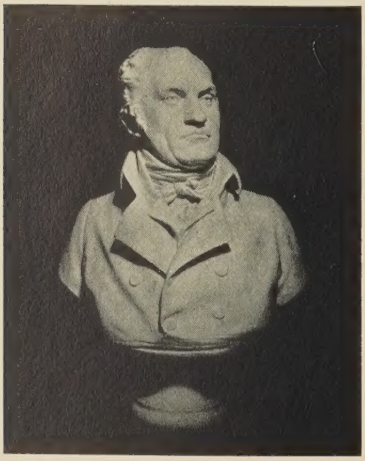
The history of Albert Gallatin and his family, that follows the Saint-Marc diary, besides dealing with individuals of French



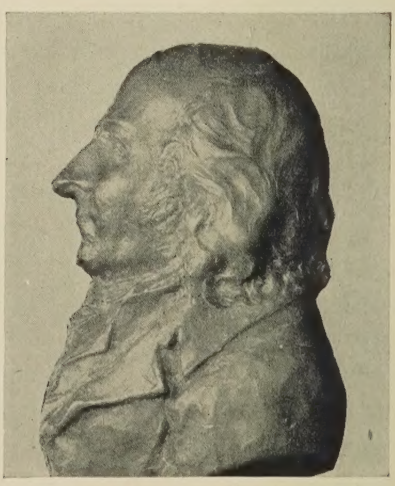
THOMAS JEFFERSON (1743–1826)
Minister to France 1785–1789
By Jean Antoine Houdon, *c.* 1785
Gift of Mrs. Laura W. Gibbs, 1839



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (1706–1790)
Minister to France 1776–1785
By Jean Jacque Caffieri, 1777
Gift of David Hosack, 1832



JOEL BARLOW (1754–1812)
Minister to France 1811–1812
By Jean Antoine Houdon, 1804
The New-York Historical Society



ALBERT GALLATIN (1761–1849)
Minister to France 1815–1823
Wax bust by Giusseppe Valaperta
Gallatin Collection, NYHS

FOUR EARLY U. S. MINISTERS TO FRANCE: NYHS COLLECTION

origin, also involves a race known generally as Swiss-French, speaking the same language and closely allied culturally to the French. Illustrative of the joint French and Swiss cultural environment which molded the character of Albert Gallatin and, through him, significantly affected the American experience is the correspondence (reproduced herein) of Voltaire with Gallatin's grandmother and early mentor. Thrift, commercial honesty, and a firm belief in a thorough education (principles which the Geneva Swiss shared with their French neighbors) were among the many teachings Albert Gallatin brought to this country in its formative period. These were helpful in influencing public opinion at a time when extreme freedom of speech and of the press made it possible for many less admirable doctrines to be advocated by irresponsible people, and they were embodied in American governmental policy.

When one speaks of French characters enshrined in American history, Lafayette leads the list. The frontispiece of this publication is a reproduction of his portrait by Casanova, believed to represent him as he was on his first landing in America with the uniform of the period. He certainly looks the youth that he then was. Among the many treasures possessed by The New-York Historical Society of the early period of Franco-American relations are works by Houdon, Saint-Mémin, Du Simitière (like Gallatin a Genevan of French origin), records of the French Church at New Rochelle, the 1793 Journal of Hauterive as French consul in New York, papers pertaining to the Genet affair, and many others.

It is impossible even at this date, correctly to evaluate the effect of Franco-American friendship on the history of the world. It can be said, however, without fear of serious contradiction, that it greatly influenced our entry into the first world war and so checked the dominance of the German nation and committed us eventually to seeking a union of the peace- and freedom-loving nations of Europe, which, if successful, may be the solution of the greatest problem of all times.

CHARLES HECTOR, COMTE D'ESTAING (1729–1794)

French General and Admiral who directed the siege of Savannah

From a painting by P. Freislhien, reproduced as Plate VII in Contenson's *La Société des Cincinnati de France* (Paris: 1934)

MEYRONNET DE SAINT-MARC'S JOURNAL

OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH ARMY UNDER D'ESTAING AT THE SIEGE OF SAVANNAH, SEPTEMBER 1779

Edited and annotated, with an introduction by ROBERTA LEIGHTON*

FIRSTHAND accounts and contemporary journals are always invaluable tools for historians and historical novelists. Even when individually inaccurate or prejudiced, a multiplicity of such eye-witness reports, each checking or amplifying the others, makes for a higher degree of accuracy and a nearer approach to completeness, in reconstructing an event from the past, than would be possible from any single account. Far from depending on its uniqueness, the historical value of each such account is enhanced when it corroborates or supplies the gaps in others or is itself corroborated or amplified by others. Luckily, the years of the American Revolution produced a surprising number of personal stories and eye-witness accounts of battles, not only by American soldiers, militiamen, and civilians, male and female, but by British, French, and Hessian participants. Those written by Americans have been, of course, more widely known, more easily accessible, and more often used. Much of the French viewpoint on the war, as expressed by a goodly number of on-the-spot soldier-diarists, has never been translated. Such a journal is that presented here, in English, for the first time. It is an account of the unsuccessful and little-celebrated siege of Savannah in the fall of 1779.

The writer was a young lieutenant in the navy—Joseph-Philippe-Auguste, Chevalier de Meyronnet de Saint-Marc Fauris. He was born in Aix-en-Provençe in 1746, and died there in 1813. His only known career was as a French naval officer. He

* Miss Leighton, formerly Assistant Editor of The New-York Historical Society, resigned as of May 2d to spend several months in Europe. Her successor, Mr. David H. Wallace, now studying in Europe, will assume his editorial duties next September.

had become a garde *in 1762, a* lieutenant de vaisseau *in 1778, and attained the rank of* capitaine *in 1786. His three brothers were naval officers also.*[1] *At Savannah he served on the 74-gun frigate* Le Marseillais,[2] *and later saw action under De Grasse in 1781, at Yorktown, and under De Vaudreuil in 1782.*[3] *During the seige of Savannah he was in charge for a time of landing boats at Thunderbolt, and the main contribution of his journal is in the detailed account of the difficulties encountered by the ships and small boats in making the landings. Being stationed at the debarkation points or aboard ship, he seems not to have witnessed the main fighting in person, but to have based his story of the siege proper and of the disastrous assault upon word-of-mouth accounts of actual participants, and he has omitted mention of some of the better-known personalities who took part, such as La Pérouse, Bougainville, Count von Stedinck, L'Enfant, and Sergeant Jasper, and some of the most familiar actions of the assault. A contemporary manuscript copy of his account, perhaps made by a secretary and apparently at the author's instance for transmission to a friend or relative, as attested by a note in his hand at the end of the copy and thus identifying the journal as his, is owned by this Society through the generous gift in 1947 of Mr. Forsyth Wickes. The original is in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Avignon, France (Vol. 2750, folio pp. 139–146). A reproduction of the manuscript is in the Library of Congress.*[4] *The*

[1] Baron Ludovic de Contenson, *La Société des Cincinnati de France et la Guerre d'Amérique 1778–1783* (Paris: 1934), 223, 225.

[2] Vicomte de Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis (1778–1783)* (Paris: 1903), 368.

[3] Asa Bird Gardiner, *The Order of the Cincinnati in France, Its Organization and History* . . . (Rhode Island State Society of the Cincinnati: 1905), 220. This work gives his rank as *enseigne de vaisseau* through 1781.

[4] We are indebted for this information to Mr. Alexander A. Lawrence, president of the Georgia Historical Society. It can be found in his recently published book, *Storm Over Savannah* (Athens, Ga.: 1951), pp. 167 and 185, a full-fledged account of the siege and the first to use facts from this journal. Mr. Lawrence also located in the library at Avignon a manuscript *Journal de la campagne du vaisseau le Marseillais* . . . (Vol. 2750, pp. 2–84) covering 21 months from April 1778 through December 31, 1779. It also is unsigned, but all indications are that it was written by Meyronnet de Saint-Marc during his term of service aboard that ship. Pages 61–84 cover D'Estaing's expedition to Georgia. –Lawrence, *ibid.*, 167, 185–186.

note in Meyronnet de Saint-Marc's own handwriting appended to the Society's manuscript translates as follows: "You can see by these details how much I avoided partiality. I sought to avoid it as much as possible and have neglected the facts which could seem partial to people favorable to us. Moreover, this was written with negligence and nobody will accuse me of seeking amusement in fine language."

The siege of Savannah has been covered briefly in all the secondary works on the Revolution. Among the works presenting it in more detail, or presenting valuable collateral material, are the following: Carrington, Battles of the American Revolution; *Gibbes*, Documentary History of the American Revolution; *Hough*, The Siege of Savannah; *Jones*, The History of Georgia *and* History of Savannah, Ga., *and* The Siege of Savannah, in 1779, As Described in Two Contemporaneous Journals of French Officers . . ., *prepared for publication by him; Henry Lee*, Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department; *McCall*, The History of Georgia; *Moore, editor*, Diary of the American Revolution; *Moultrie*, Memoirs of the American Revolution; *Ramsay*, The History of the Revolution of South-Carolina; *and Stedman*, The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War. *An adequate listing (as of 1889) of both primary and secondary sources is available in Justin Winsor's* Narrative and Critical History of America *(pp. 522–524). Another manuscript "Journal du Siege de Savannah Septembre, et Octobre 1779, [by Antoine-François-Térance O'Connor, a participant and a confidant of d'Estaing,] avec des observations de M^r. le C^te. d'Estaing," of which a contemporary copy was recently acquired by The John Carter Brown Library, is described by Lawrence C. Wroth in the Library's* Report to the Corporation of Brown University July 1, 1951 *(pp. 33–38). But Alexander Lawrence has presented the most valuable and most complete list of all possible sources known to him in the bibliography of his* Storm Over Savannah. *He has noted, with complete detail on location of copies and other bibliographical*

data, the British, French, and American manuscript sources, printed journals and contemporary accounts and correspondence, contemporary newspapers and magazines that touched on the siege, as well as several pages of secondary sources. The existence of all these accounts of the events in Georgia during the war make it only necessary here to sketch briefly a prologue to the scenes presented by Meyronnet de Saint-Marc.

Savannah had been the principal British toe-hold in the Southern Colonies since it was captured from General Robert Howe in 1778. General Augustine Prevost[5] *had advanced his British headquarters from St. Augustine, Florida, to that city, and it was feared that British plans were to sweep up from Georgia and eliminate the Southern Colonies from the rebel ranks one by one. But with the exception of an unsuccessful attempt to take Charleston, little progress had been made in that direction. The motley American forces under General Benjamin Lincoln*[6] *were established at Purysburg on the Savannah River during the months before D'Estaing's French expedition arrived, successfully occupied in containing the British forces south of the river.*

Plans to retake Savannah were forwarded by the presence of a French fleet under Count d'Estaing[7] *in the West Indies during the*

[5] Major General Augustine or Augustin Prevost, who had been wounded at Fontenoy and at Quebec, and whose health had apparently suffered from his long service in Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, had been requesting to be relieved of his command for some time. His replacement, Major General George Garth, was at this time on his way to Savannah, but he had the misfortune to be captured when the British ship *Experiment* was taken by the French off the coast of Georgia. Prevost apparently returned to England from Georgia and died there in 1786. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 41, 148.

[6] Major General Benjamin Lincoln (1733–1810) had been in command of the army in the Southern department since September 1778. Previous to that this one-time farmer had served in the legislature, the Provincial Congress, and the Massachusetts militia. He had been made a major general in the Continental army in 1777, and fought and was severely wounded at Saratoga. After the unsuccessful siege of Savannah he was captured with his army at Charleston (May 1780). Upon being paroled and then exchanged he joined Washington on the Hudson, and was at the surrender of Cornwallis. His post-war life was spent as secretary of war, farmer, militia commander in quelling Shay's Rebellion, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, and collector of the port of Boston. —*DAB;* Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York: 1850), II: 527–528.

[7] Jean-Baptiste-Charles-Henry-Hector, Count d'Estaing (1729–1794) had had an active military career. At the age of 30 he had been wounded and made prisoner at the

MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN (1733–1810)

Commander of the American forces at the siege of Savannah, 1779

Mezzotint by J. R. Smith from a painting by Col. Henry Sargent

Collection of The New-York Historical Society

MAJOR GENERAL AUGUSTINE PREVOST (D. 1786)

Commander of the besieged British forces in Savannah, 1779

Etching signed "Max Rosenthal 1885" from a contemporary drawing by Du Simitière

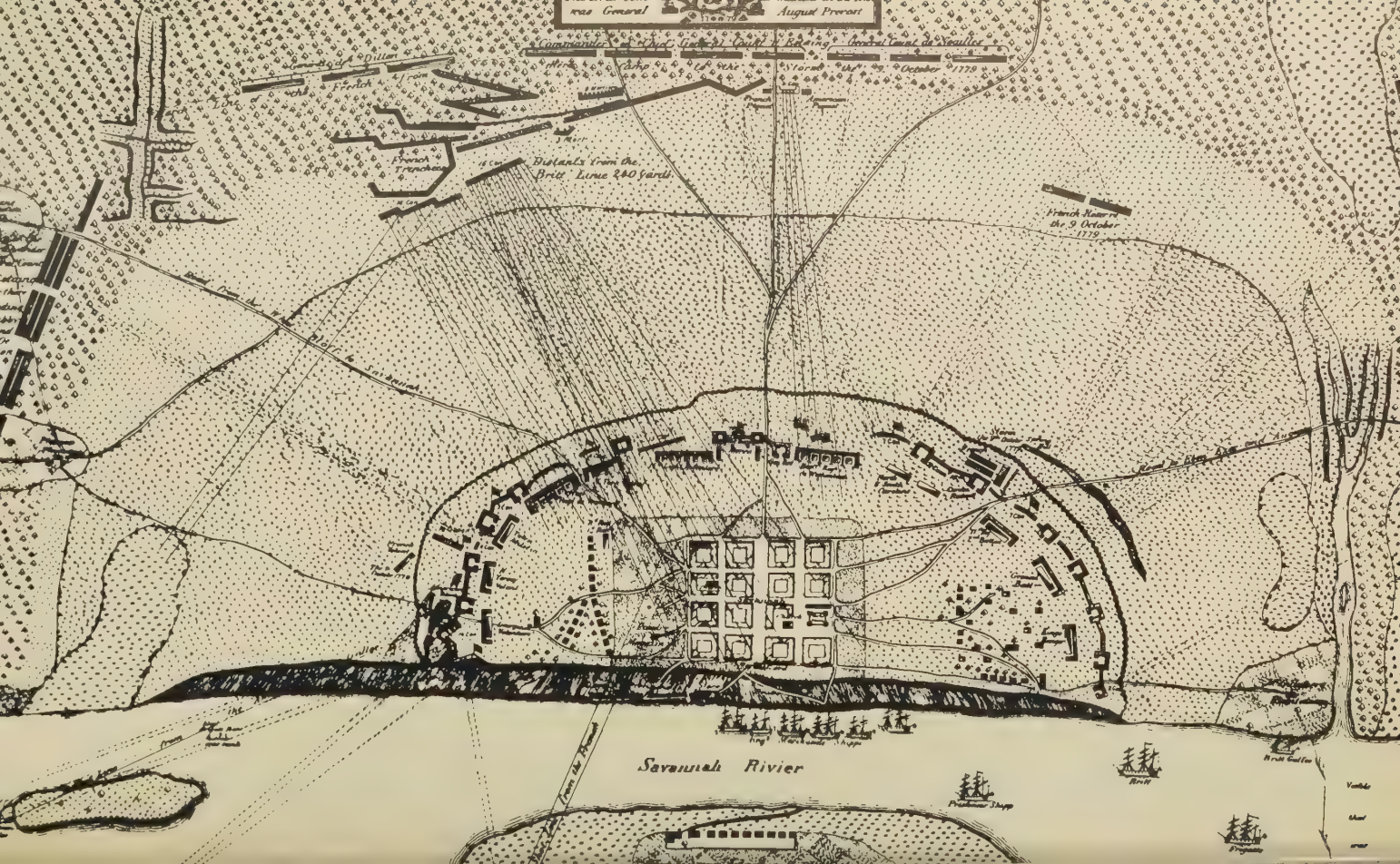
Collection of The New-York Historical Society

summer of 1779. This squadron had just gained glory by the reduction of St. Vincent and Grenada and the defeat of Admiral Byron's fleet—deeds which re-established French superiority in those waters, and which, according to most accounts, whetted the appetite of the ambitious French leader for more personal triumphs. He received letters from Gérard, the French minister at Philadelphia, General Lincoln, Plombard, the French consul at Charleston, and De Brétigny, a French officer in the service of the Americans at Charleston, all urging him to join the Americans in a co-operative assault on Savannah. The chance to reap further glory in what appeared to be a fairly easy venture appealed strongly to D'Estaing and, acting within his discretionary orders, he agreed to participate.

His fleet sailed from Cap François, San Domingo, on August 16, 1779. It consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, ten frigates, a cutter, and several barges, transport schooners, and American vessels, which arrived off the Georgia coast on September 3d and 4th. Faster vessels had sailed to Charleston to make final plans with the Americans. This done, they rejoined the fleet on the 6th, bringing pilots and American guides. General Lincoln began to collect and move his forces south. He promised to meet D'Estaing with 1,000 men on the 11th. The British, meanwhile, had discovered the presence of the French fleet and set about reinforc-

---

siege of Madras. Regaining his freedom, he had become a privateer in violation of his parole and again been captured and held for a time in a dungeon at Portsmouth. His standing at Versailles was high. By 1762 he was named *chef d'escadre,* in 1767 lieutenant general, and in 1777 vice admiral. The following year his was the first French squadron to reach America and lend active assistance to the alliance. Previous to his successes in the West Indies he had accomplished nothing, however, other than the dissemination of a low opinion of himself among the Americans. He had lost an opportunity for capturing Admiral Byron's squadron at New York and had let a storm deter him from further opportunities of crippling the British naval forces at Newport, Rhode Island. He returned to France after his continued lack of success at Savannah, and later commanded a French-Spanish fleet and convoyed a merchant fleet to the West Indies. He embraced the principles of the French Revolution, was named admiral in 1792, but was arrested during the Terror and guillotined. —De Contenson, *op. cit.,* 175; Lawrence, *op. cit.,* 16; Thomas Balch, *The French in America During the War of Independence of the United States 1777–1783* (Philadelphia: 1895), II: 117–120. For D'Estaing's full name, rarely given, see *Webster's Biographical Dictionary.*


Distants from the Britt Lume 240 Yards
French Redoubt the 9 October 1779
Savannah Rivier

ing the defenses of the city. Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, was reconnoitered by D'Estaing and a small force on the 9th, but was found to have been deserted by the British. Attention was then turned to preparations for landing the troops—the point at which Meyronnet de Saint-Marc's account begins.

The six ships[8] which were to protect the landing at the river of Byolit,[9] according to the plan given by Count d'Estaing, set sail on September 11th with all the troops for the debarkation on board. The small boats from the ships resting at anchor before the Savannah River had orders to follow these ships under La Motte-Piquet,[10] squadron leader, to be used in the landing. The squadron remained at the anchorage that day, four miles offshore in eight fathoms of water off the entrance of the river of Byolit.

Count d'Estaing, who had boarded the cutter *L'Alerte*, im-

[8] Probably *L'Annibal, Guerrier, Sphinx, Vengeur, Artesien,* and *Provence.* —*The Siege of Savannah, in 1779, As Described in Two Contemporaneous Journals of French officers in the Fleet of Count d'Estaing* (Albany, N. Y.: 1874), 14, hereafter cited as *Siege of Savannah.*

[9] The landing was made at Beaulieu on the Vernon River, off Ossabaw Sound, about thirteen miles south of Savannah. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 13.

[10] Toussaint-Guillaume Picquet, Count de la Motte-Picquet de la Vinoyère (1720–1791), promoted to lieutenant general of the French Naval Forces in 1782. —Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 126; *Biographie Universelle, Ancien et Moderne. Supplement* . . . (Paris, Chez L.-G. Michaud, Editeur: 1847), XXX: 287–290, hereafter cited as Michaud. La Motte-Picquet died after 46 years of service and 28 campaigns. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 203–204. The name is often spelled as herein—La Motte-Piquet. For details of his early career see Balch, *op. cit.*, II:187.

PLAN OF THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN SIEGE OF SAVANNAH [1779]

"The original map (of which we have here a reproduction by the photolithographic process), was purchased in London at the late sale of Lord Rawdon's papers, and was selected from his military portfolio. While its general resemblance to the map of the siege of Savannah contained in Faden's Plans of Battles in North America will be readily conceded, we think the present map more elaborate and satisfactory in its details. It is apparently the work of a German or Swiss engineer who may have been connected with either Wissenbach's or Trumbach's Hessian regiment, both of which were present at the siege and constituted a part of the English garrison. By an endorsement it seems at one time to have been the property of Lieutenant Finnegan of the Sixteenth regiment of Infantry. Two companies of that regiment held the entrenchments to the left of the Augusta road, and rendered efficient service in the repulse of the assault of the 9th of October."—Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The Siege of Savannah* . . . (Albany: J. Munsell, 1874), vi.

mediately hoisted the agreed signal for La Motte-Piquet to order the debarkation. Consequently, La Motte-Piquet gave the signal for the first ones to leave the ship and all the small ships and boats took on board the detachments of Grenadiers, Chasseurs, and Companies which formed the first party. The sailing signal being hoisted, they all passed astern *L'Annibal* under La Motte-Piquet, who ordered them to follow the cutter *L'Alerte*. The native coast pilot who was to direct the landing, had missed the channel of the river, which was barred by a bank of reefs extending far out to sea. The cutter *L'Alerte*, the *Cérès*, the brig *Victor*, and several launches and ship's boats, finding themselves carried to leeward, were obliged to tack to keep off the reefs. Several schooners and other boats that were far behind the cutter managed to enter the river during the night, but having no precise knowledge of the extent of these reefs there was too much risk in trying to pass them. Happily the weather was fine and the sea calm. Other boats, carried too much to leeward, having tacked part of the night and having lost sight of the cutter, not knowing which way to steer dropped anchor in the open sea at dawn. Count d'Estaing, who had taken the same decision, unable to find the channel, set sail with all the small boats, the *Cérès* and the *Victor* to enter the river, where, as a matter of precaution, a ship with a red flag hoisted on her mainmast was anchored in front of the reefs to indicate the channel.

All the boats, with the exception of two launches, arrived at the river on the 12th at four o'clock in the afternoon. Its mouth being obstructed by a long series of reefs extending from both banks, the frigate *Cérès*, having tried to steer off the reefs on her port side, ran aground on those on her starboard side. She hoisted signals for help, but all ships being laden with troops, none could come to her rescue. The frigate had no recourse but to do what she could for herself. They worked on this ship with such eagerness that she was afloat before having been damaged too much.

Count d'Estaing, who sailed into the river about one o'clock in the afternoon, stepped on shore on an island at the head of 200 Grenadiers, in search of 500 oxen guarded, it was said, by an

English detachment. Waiting for his return all the ships came to anchor at the mouth of the river; also an American galley under a Frenchman called Bottard whom the council at Charleston detached to back the landing if it was opposed. All the ships received orders to set sail the moment the galley hoisted sail. At 5:30 in the afternoon, the sea beginning to rise, the galley set sail. They entered different inlets, called creeks, of this river, but were obliged to drop anchor again and wait for the General's return. At 6:30 he boarded the galley, having searched through the island and walked in swamps where he had mud to the knee, but having found neither the oxen nor the detachment of English troops.

Count d'Estaing's plan was to attack, with this galley and the largest boats he possessed, an English galley said to be defending the landing. As soon as he stepped on board, sail was hoisted. Night came on fast. The space where all the ships rested at anchor and where all the different creeks came out was so narrow and the tide so strong at that time that the galley, unable to round one of the many islands, was forced to drop anchor. Later on she hoisted sail again and was towed by several rowboats, but with no success. She could not stem the stream and dropped anchor a second time. All the boats did the same. When the General saw that the galley was of no use to him, he stepped into a small boat with one Negro to steer him through the creeks he had to pass to reach the place appointed for the landing. He had a light put on the stern of his boat and hollooed to the different ships anchored near to follow him and to pass this verbal order to the other rowboats. The officers commanding those which were furthest out got the order very late and were much embarrassed; they saw two lights—one to starboard and the other to larboard, both seeming to move away at the same distance. Not knowing which, chance alone led them to follow the one on the General's boat. This navigation was most troublesome. They continually came across new mouths full of islands which lay so low at full tide that the light on the General's boat was seen above them and, believing themselves to be on the right way, they risked running

aground. Finally, after an hour and a half, most of the boats reached the place appointed for the landing.

Count d'Estaing, who arrived there first and who then had only three or four boats with him, sprang on shore. He was followed by his Grenadiers. Having reached an American house on a height where he intended to encamp, he explored the wood to make sure that no English were hidden there. Seeing that apparently they were not in the least opposed to a landing, having left but one post of four men and a corporal who fled at the sight of our troops,[11] he went and immediately ordered the general landing.

This was done in the greatest confusion—partly because of the nature of the coast, which was very difficult of access, and the disorder in which it was done, and partly because of the many rowboats being tossed about and drawn along by a very rapid current, the ebb tide being at its strongest. At last all the troops were landed, and as soon as they were ashore, they set to work on their encampment. A detachment of 200 men under Lt. Colonel Odune[12] was sent out to reconnoiter the wood, to make sure that no attack should be feared. At the same time he received orders to camp at dawn three-quarters of a league away from the army and watch the movements of the English. It was lucky that the enemy made no opposition to the landing. It is presumed that they could have hindered it even with very poor forces, and moreover we would have lost many people. The troops, 1,800 to 1,900 men, landed that night and the next day.[13]

[11] The anonymous journal, *Siege of Savannah* (p. 14) states that the landing place at Beaulieu, "four leagues from the mouth of the Ossaba river, and six leagues to the south of Savannah," "was guarded by thirty men who evacuated it upon the approach of our troops. . . ." And Colonel Thomas Pinckney, who was General Lincoln's aide at Savannah, has stated that the British force, stationed at this point with two field pieces, had been withdrawn the preceding day. —*Siege of Savannah*, n. 3, 14.

[12] Thadée-Humphrey, Count O'Dunne, of the regiment of Martinique, infantry, was promoted to the rank of Colonel for his services at Savannah. —Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 104. He was authorized to return to France in 1781, and left the service.—De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 237.

[13] Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 55, lists the total French forces as: 3,182 European soldiers, 545 Negro troops from San Domingo, and 156 West Indian volunteers. He also lists the number by regiment or detachment.

As soon as the boats had landed the troops they had on board they were ordered lower down the river to take on those who remained behind on board the French and American schooners and brigs unfit to sail up the river. Some were sent to go aboard the ship named the *Victory*, an English prize, to bring back stores for the army. This ship, which had entered the river on the day of our landing, was laden with different provisions and stores, in consequence of which the General had chosen her to be the storehouse for our army.

In the morning, Count d'Estaing made all dispositions for the encampment, determined to stay there until all troops remaining aboard the squadron had joined him, and not only munitions, but everything necessary to lay siege to Savannah, in case the English thought of defending the town, was landed. Count d'Estaing flattered himself that General Prevost, Governor of Savannah, would capitulate at the approach of our troops. The fortifications of this place were known to be of little importance, having been built only as a defense against raids by the Americans.

General Pulaski,[14] at the head of a part of his regiment of Hussars and a few infantry troops which had followed him, paid a visit to Count d'Estaing that day [the 14th or 15th]. The arrival of this American detachment, which had passed through the woods covering the greatest part of this country, proved that the English had entirely retired to Savannah.

All small boats received orders to sail down the river again to the squadron of La Motte-Piquet, and to take on the troops for the second landing. Several of them tried to drop anchor, but

[14] General Casimir Pulaski (*c.* 1748–1779), the well-known Polish patriot, had come to America in 1777 to fight with the forces under Washington. He served at Brandywine, Germantown, Trenton, Flemington, and Valley Forge. He resigned his commission in 1778, but later, with the permission of Congress, organized an independent cavalry unit, and was sent to support Lincoln in February 1779. –*DAB*. He had been stationed fifty miles northeast of Augusta, Ga., to be within easy reach of either Charleston or Augusta, and was now ordered to join General Lachlan McIntosh and march toward Savannah in advance of General Lincoln's army to open communications with the French. There were several skirmishes with British outposts before he reached Beaulieu. –Hugh McCall, *The History of Georgia* (Atlanta, Ga.: 1909), 430, and Charles C. Jones, *The History of Georgia* (Boston: 1883), II:378.

the wind, then blowing northeast, was very strong and the bar at the entrance of the river was difficult to pass. They were in the greatest danger, and some perished; that of *L'Hector*, sailing before the wind, entered a river unknown to it. The men in the boats which were lost were lucky enough to come across the *Cérès* which had set sail to save them. The schooner *L'Annibal's* boat met the brig *Comet*, seized on our arrival at Savannah,[15] and her crew boarded this ship. Under these circumstances an English corsair behaved with praiseworthy humanity. He knew we were on the coast, and having very little stores, was sailing before the wind as fast as he could to the island of Providence. He met the brig *Comet*, and, the wind having slackened, seized her. Being himself in a sad condition, with a scanty supply of food, and unable to keep all his prisioners, he sent them off, sharing with them the little he had. The other boats were unable to pass the bar before night and dropped anchor lower down the river. The wind blew fiercely. Everyone feared for the squadron and all communication with it was cut off. Therefore, the idea of letting the *Victory* enter the river proved lucky for the troops.

D'Estaing, seeing that bad weather persisted, and having a rendezvous with the American army under General Lincoln on the [*blank*] before Savannah, decided to start immediately at the head of his troops. Consequently, the army marched off from Byolit [Beaulieu], leaving behind a post of 150 men, and made straight for Savannah.[16] A corps of volunteers and Chasseurs, beating the woods, preceded the army. Its march, nevertheless, often might have been stopped, for an ambush in the thick bushes it had to pass to reach a place for camping would have been very easy. Count d'Estaing marched at the head of his troops. It is reported that he said at that time to one of his aides-de-camp. "I know what actually should be done. If, sword in

[15] No other account mentions the capture of the *Comet*. It is always listed among the British ships (*Rose*, *Fowey*, *Kepple*, *Germain*, and the galley *Comet*) which moved up the river to Five-fathom Hole upon the approach of the French fleet. It is also mentioned as being one of the ships sent to cover Maitland's arrival at Savannah from Beaufort. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 50.

[16] September 15th. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 157.

hand, we marched straight to the town, we would carry it off as few in number as we are." Fearing an attack, Count d'Estaing sent for the artillery corps and ordered the field guns which followed the army brought forward. In the disorder of this sudden march and incomplete landing the ammunition to supply the guns could not be found quickly enough. D'Estaing, learning of the difficulty, dismissed the artillery corps and charged Truguet,[17] naval lieutenant and aide-de-camp of his suite, to act as chief of artillery.

The army arrived a quarter of a league from Savannah and camped at the opening of the wood, a gun's shot from the enemy. Des Français, infantry major of San Domingo and chief of a volunteer corps of Grenadiers raised at the last minute on that island by order of Count d'Estaing, camped with his troops on the right flank of the army, near the enemy. Count d'Estaing, who on leaving for Byolit [Beaulieu] had given orders to Durumain,[18] commanding the frigate *La Chimère*, and under him De Costebelle,[19] commanding *La Bricole*, and De Puységur,[20] commanding

[17] Laurent-Jean-François, Count Truguet (1752–1839) was a *lieutenant de vaisseau* in 1779, but an active naval career saw him become an admiral. During the French Revolution he was imprisoned for a time. He later held many posts of importance, among them Minister of Marine and ambassador to Spain. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 275. As a young officer at Savannah he was one of the first to reach the the British entrenchments in the attack on October 9th. He was responsible later that day for removing the twice-wounded D'Estaing from the field after finding him lying among the dead. —Lawrence, *ibid.*, 109, 141. See also Balch, *op. cit.*, II:241–242.

[18] Charles-Marie de Trolong, Chevalier du Rumain (1743–1780) was a *lieutenant de vaisseau* during this engagement. He was promoted to *capitaine de vaisseau* in 1780, and, while commanding the frigate *La Nymphe*, was killed in an engagement with the English frigate *Floria*. —Michaud, LXXX: 162–165. See also De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 255.

[19] Pierre-Alexandre Pastour, Chevalier de Costebelle (1750–1791). He went to America as *enseigne* on the *Languedoc* with D'Estaing in 1778, and was promoted to *lieutenant* the following year. He subsequently had an active career in the navy, becoming *capitaine* in 1786. —de Contenson, *ibid.*, 165. He was made a prisoner of war at the capitulation of Charleston on May 12, 1780. —Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 145. This work states erroneously that he commanded *La Truite* at Savannah, while De Puységur commanded *La Bricole*.

[20] Antoine-Hyacinthe-Anne, Count de Chastenet-Puységur (1752–1809) was an *enseigne de vaisseau* in 1779, and was also captured at Charleston in 1780. He attained the rank of *capitaine de vaisseau* in 1792, and in that year emigrated and served in the army of the Prince de Condé. Upon this army's disbandment he served under the British and, finally, in the Portuguese Navy where he received the commission of rear admiral. He returned to France in 1803. —Gardiner, *ibid.*, 128;

La Truite, to advance promptly and sail up the Savannah River within reach of the town, waited for these ships with the greatest impatience. He flattered himself that they could make an advantageous diversion in the planned operations. But bad weather and the difficulty of steering these ships in the narrows of the river where they could run aground in waters only six feet deep, all these difficulties combined, prevented *La Chimère* and *La Bricole* from advancing further than St. Augustine creek and Chevalier Durumain from executing the General's order before the [*blank*].[21] During this toilsome navigation *La Chimère* was attacked by two English galleys, which, taking advantage of her being stranded in waters only six feet deep, risked firing at her. Happily, in this circumstance, *La Chimère* did not lie on her side and always was able to return the fire of the galleys, though they, having 18-pounder guns, might have kept out of range of our 12-pounders.

Our encampment faced the posts of the English army before Savannah, its left flank resting on marshes and its right on the coast. The American army under General Lincoln, comprising 1,500 Continental troops and 3,000 Carolina militiamen,[22] joined the French army on the [*blank*], and camped on the right flank facing the English barracks.[23]

The wind being manageable, all schooners and brigs at anchor at the mouth of the river of Byolit moored in the roadsteads. Boats were sent to take on the troops forming the second landing from the ships under La Motte-Piquet. The difficulties Durumain's ships experienced in sailing up the river to take positions before the town had extremely bad consequences.

Count d'Estaing, once encamped before Savannah, wrote to

Michaud, XXXVI:335–336; De Contenson, *ibid.*, 247, which gives his birth date as 1751.

[21] The *Truite* finally anchored in the Black River, nearly opposite the city, on September 28th, and began cannonading the city on October 1st. —Lawrence, *op cit.*, 158, 159.

[22] Lawrence, *op cit.*, 55, states that the American forces "numbered approximately 1,000 Continental troops and 1,000 militia. . . ."

[23] The final junction of the French and American forces was effected on September 16th. —Jones, *op. cit.*, 381; Lawrence, *ibid.*, 157.

General Prevost inviting him to surrender. He observed in his letter that he [Prevost] was in no condition to defend himself against the united French and American forces, and that, consequently, his duty was to spare blood; whereas, if he consented to capitulate, it might prove advantageous and honorable to him. He warned him, at the same time, that if he were forced to lay siege, he would do it unsparingly. General Prevost replied that he could not take it upon himself to accept these propositions without assembling a council, and, therefore, asked for a suspension of arms of twenty-four hours. Count d'Estaing consented.[24]

Very likely General Prevost's request was made to give the troops from Bedford [Beaufort], Fort George, and Port Royal—500 men[25] under Colonel Maitelin [Maitland][26]—time to join him in Savannah, and they took advantage of the truce and of the way still left open by the ships under Durumain to come to Savannah. This Colonel [Maitland], at the head of all his troops, was obliged to pass through marshes where they were soaked in water up to the chest and had mud up to the knee. To accomplish this toilsome journey they disarmed on board the *Vigilant*, a vessel built to navigate these rivers, bearing 24 guns of 24. She rested at anchor in a creek uniting Bedford [Beaufort] to the Savannah River with two galleys and four or five transport ships.[27]

[24] For the full text of the five notes exchanged by Prevost and D'Estaing in arranging this truce see Jones, *ibid.*, 379–381; McCall, *op. cit.*, 431–434.

[25] Maitland had 900 troops in the garrison at Beaufort on Port Royal Island, of which the 800 effective men all reached Savannah. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 26, 29. Their arrival raised the garrison strength to 3,700 of whom 2,200 were fit for duty. —J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, III: 284. See Jones, *op. cit.*, 404–405, for a list of the variant figures on British strength in different sources.

[26] Lieutenant Colonel John Maitland of the 71st Regiment of Scotch Foot. He came from a wealthy and noble family, and had been a member of the House of Commons. Twenty years earlier, in the fighting with the French at Lagos Bay in Spain, he had lost his right hand. He had re-entered the service at the outbreak of the American Revolution, and was liked and respected by both British and Americans. He died on October 26, 1779, probably of a fever he had contracted before he had reached Savannah, though some sources attribute his death to over-indulgence in drink. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 27–28, 150.

[27] In reaching Savannah as ordered, Maitland had found the passage up the river in French possession, and had come instead, after transferring to small craft from the *Vigilant* and other vessels, with the help of tide and fog, through a passage known

If this truce proved to be convenient to General Prevost, it was not less so to us, for, Count d'Estaing that day having sent 150 men to take a post at the right flank of the army, they lost their way and passed the English camp at a rifle's shot distance. They would most likely have been made prisoners of war.

Colonel Maitland, having rallied General Prevost, there was no word of capitulation. The English worked incessantly, day and night to strengthen their post; 4,000 Negroes[28] were employed, not counting the garrison, also put to work. Thus, they succeeded in a few days in digging three trenches, backed by redoubts here and there, the whole defended by a common ditch six feet deep and nearly as wide. Already having batteries, which fired at our army when the truce was over, they set up still others to attack ours in the rear.[29] The English had at their service in Savannah a French engineer,[30] considered one of the best officers of this corps.

On the [*blank*] Chevalier de Cambis,[31] navy lieutenant and aide-de-camp to Count d'Estaing, entrusted with the detail of the landing, and who, consequently, stayed at the post at Beaulieu, coming to report on his detail to D'Estaing, was lost before the enemy's trenches. An English patrol, spying him, fired. The officer, trying to escape, left his horse and hid in the woods as

---

as Wall's cut through Scull creek, which would admit small boats at high tide. He and his troops reached the town on the 16th and 17th. —Jones, *op. cit.*, 383; McCall, *op. cit.*, 435–436; Lawrence, *ibid.*, 46–52.

[28] A saner estimate would be the "between four and five hundred" mentioned by Jones, *op. cit.*, 382.

[29] The British warships in the river were stripped of their batteries for use on the earthworks, and these guns were manned by the sailors. By the time the truce terminated, the British had thirteen redoubts, and fifteen gun-batteries mounting 80 pieces of cannon, in addition to some field-pieces. *Ibid.*

[30] Captain James Moncrief. He was related by blood or marriage to the Whigs Governor Livingston, General Montgomery, and John Jay, but remained loyal to Britain. He also served at Charleston in 1780. In 1793 he died as a result of wounds received in a French sortie at Dunkirk. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 43, 148–149.

[31] Joseph, Viscount de Cambis (1748–1825), a *lieutenant de vaisseau* from 1778, *major* in 1791, *capitaine* 1792, *contre-amiral* 1793, who "distinguished himself at the siege of Savannah." He commanded a ship in the fleet under De Grasse in 1781–2782. There was also a Charles-François, Count de Cambis-Lézan (1747–1825), who was a *lieutenant de vaisseau*, and served on D'Estaing's ship the *Languedoc* in 1778, but probably the former is the one referred to here. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 149.

best he could, but was soon found and an English officer, commanding the nearest post, took him to General Prevost's tent. There he was received with the utmost courtesy by the General, who sent him to the house of his son, a major in one of the English garrison regiments in Savannah.[32] The next day he was released on parole and sent back to Count d'Estaing. Truguet, who was no longer chief of artillery because as soon as the army encamped Count d'Estaing detailed officers of this corps to it, got orders immediately to take the landing detail [as a replacement for De Cambis].

Count d'Estaing, being at last determined to lay siege to Savannah, gave orders to dig a trench and to land the guns—all the big mortars which were aboard the squadron and all the munitions necessary to this object. Since Durumain was still anchored above St. Augustine creek, the communication between the river at Beaulieu and the main squadron resting at anchor off its entrance, lay open. Therefore, a new field hospital was set up in this place, the post of Tunder Bloth [Thunderbolt Bluff] chosen for it, and the one at Beaulieu abandoned. Boats carried guns, powder, bombs, and other war engines from Beaulieu to Thunderbolt. A trench was dug, and they worked all night so eagerly that the troops which had to defend it were covered by the guns the next morning. But there being no communicating branch between the French camp and the trench 150 toises [300 yards] from the English lines, and our position at the opening of the woods being so exposed, we lost many men. Count d'Estaing, who often came, had soldiers killed at his side several times. Both engineer and artillery officers were very

[32] Prevost's eldest son, Sir George (1767–1816), lieutenant general (1808) and governor general of British North America (1811), was not promoted to the rank of major until 1790, and apparently did not serve outside Britain until he was sent to the West Indies in that year. —See *DNB*. Meyronnet de Saint-Marc may, perhaps, have been referring to General Prevost's brother, Lieutenant Colonel Mark Prevost. The latter had in November 1778 led a diversionary force through south Georgia ravaging and burning the countryside, and had fought into South Carolina. Early in 1779, after the British had recaptured Savannah and established a civil administration for Georgia once more, he was appointed lieutenant governor, and very likely was still in the city during the siege. —Jones, *op. cit.*, 305–308, 347–352, 372.

active and batteries against the English trenches were set up. Still one was much exposed, and our chief artillery officer, Chevalier de Saucé, a young man of great promise, was killed, together with several soldiers of his corps.

The third day [September 24th] the English thought to turn us out of our trench and fill up our works; 500 men under Colonel Maitland, backed by a corps of 1,200 which was to follow, rushed out to attack. They moved so silently and cautiously and our sentinels paid so little attention to the outside that we had the enemy on top of our trench before ever suspecting their plan. De Rouvray,[33] infantry colonel and chief of the San Domingo mulatto corps which had been raised by order of Count d'Estaing, was in charge that day, with Lieutenant Colonel O'Dunne as second under him. He immediately gave orders to our troops to leap out of the ditch, in order not to be crushed by the number and to be able to defend themselves. They fought for awhile in this post, but soon the English, amazed by the resolute bravery of our troops, began to retreat. The French, impetuously carried away, pursued them hotly at bayonet point and killed a good many. Until then the English batteries had been silent and we lost but few people, but the return of our troops to the trench became very perilous. The enemy batteries fired briskly, and we lost on this occasion one hundred men and many officers killed and wounded. Count d'Estaing, having gone at that time to reconnoiter the post at Thunderbolt, heard the cannonade and feared that our trench would be taken. He learned with great satisfaction that the English were beaten off, and seemed very much pleased with Rouvray's maneuver, but the men we lost and the general blame it engendered changed his mood toward this officer.[34]

[33] Laurent-François le Noir, Marquis de Rouvray (1735–1798) had fought in Canada and San Domingo, and twice been made a prisoner, in 1760 and in 1763. Before and after Savannah he served at San Domingo. He was made a field marshal in 1788, governor of Provins-en-Brie, and deputy from San Domingo to the States-General in 1789. He emigrated during the French Revolution and died in Philadelphia July 18, 1798. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 255; Gardiner, *op, cit.*, 94.

[34] This sortie, by the British Light Infantry, was led, not by Maitland, but by Major Colin Graham. Their obvious object was to lead the French out of their

Several guns of 18 were already on the field, but others of the same caliber, as well as guns of 12 and of 6, were still being landed. Ships from the squadron constantly arrived laden with ammunition. The landing of troops was finished, and the squadron under La Motte-Piquet went to join De Broves'[35] fleet. The small boats from the vessels anchored off the Savannah River joined the post at Thunderbolt and carried there all the luggage and ammunition from Beaulieu. It was then that Count d'Estaing got the news of the capture of the ship *Experiment* and of several transport ships from her convoy.[36] This ship having on board letters for General Prevost and officers of the English army, he took the opportunity to announce the capture in Savannah. He flattered himself that this fact would help to discourage the troops and urge their General to surrender. Consequently, he sent all those letters to General Prevost, recommending to the officer taking them, under a flag of truce, that he let the seizure of the ships, laden with the treasure of the English army, be known. But General Prevost cautiously prevented the spreading of the news in town and through the garrison, and it did not seem to carry all the effect D'Estaing had promised himself it would. Nevertheless, every day English soldiers and officers of lesser rank deserted and joined our camp. They reported to us what was going on in the town, and it was thus we learned that

---

trenches in order to learn something of their strength. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 67–68. This work lists the French losses as three officers dead, nine wounded, and 85 men killed or wounded. —*Ibid.*, 68. Another firsthand account states that the English sortie was made by 600 men, and that the French loss was 70 men. —*Siege of Savannah*, 22. The acknowledged British loss was 21 killed and wounded. —*Ibid.*, n. 1. One French writer has placed the blame for this unfortunate occurance on O'Dunne, who, he says, "was drunk." —*Ibid.*, 63.

[35] Jean-Joseph de Rafelis, Count de Broves (1715–1782), next in command of the fleet under D'Estaing. —André Lasseray, *Les Français sous les Treize Étoiles (1775–1783)* (Paris: 1935), I:139. He had fought the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean from 1772 to 1777. Under D'Estaing he had seen service at Rhode Island, St. Lucie, St. Vincent, and Grenada. He was named lieutenant general on his return to France at the end of 1779. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 147.

[36] The *Experiment* was captured on the 24th after having lost her bowsprit and masts in a gale during her trip from New York. She was loaded with wine, beer, rum, cloth, and 700,000 pounds of army rations. Also aboard was Major General Garth who had been sent to relieve Prevost. —*Siege of Savannah*, 23 and ns. 1 and 2.

the garrison at first had had little inclination to defend it, and that the arrival of Colonel Maitland changed this feeling. This brave officer urged them to a vigorous defense and immediately started the digging of fortifications. The sandy soil of the country made the work easy and repairs easier still.

Durumain reached his post in the river and prepared for an attack on that side. He advanced both galleys up one of the branches of the river as near the town as a frigate, the *Rose*, which the English had sunk at half a gun's shot from the harbor, would allow, and began firing both at the galley and at a wooden fort defending the mouth of the river. The sloop *La Truite*, with guns of 12 aboard, having landed those of 18 for the siege, could not approach more than a gun's shot, but, the enemy's fire having damaged the galleys, we were soon obliged to withdraw. One of the biggest had her gun dismounted, and both had on board several dead and wounded. Count d'Estaing, to whom Durumain brought the account of this attack, ordered him not to let the ships advance as near the town as he had.

Batteries of mortars and guns to batter the English works were set up in great haste in our camp. Count d'Estaing did not spare money for this object. He worked sometimes with the soldiers to encourage his troops. Everything being ready, it was decided to land the batteries on the [*blank*]. D'Estaing asked De Broves to land as many naval troops as he could. He put part of them, chiefly bombardiers of the navy, to serve the guns and batteries of big mortars, and naval officers to help the artillery officers whose number was insufficient.

During the night of the [*blank*] [September 26th] another attack on our trenches was expected. The advance sentinels gave the signal of alarm. All the entrenched troops were under arms. Brown,[37] major in Dillon's regiment, in command that day, restrained the fervor of our troops, only allowing them to fire

[37] Major Thomas Browne, or "de Browne," as he called himself. He was second in command of the right column of attack in the assault on October 9th and was killed at the entrance of the redoubt. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 69, 97, 106. He was born at Castelloffre on October 12, 1732. —Balch, *op. cit.*, II: 70.

at enemies that they thought they could see. It was reported that they retired hastily leaving a field gun very near our trench, but the fact was never proved, and it remained doubtful whether the enemy had made a real push. It is supposed that an English patrol approached closer to our works than usual.[38]

D'Estaing ordered Des Français, who commanded an advance post, to attack one of the most advanced English works on the night of the [*blank*]. If the very express order not to advance had allowed Des Français to push forward a vigorous attack one may suppose that he could have taken the post, and, if he could not have kept it, he would at least have had time to carry off the three guns defending it. For, at our first shot, the English, having returned it with three or four shots, wounding several men, retreated hastily and abandoned the place. Des Français, obeying the order, withdrew very peacefully.

On the [*blank*] [3d of October] at midnight we threw bombs at the town, and at three in the morning [of the 4th] all our batteries fired briskly at the English works. The sloop *La Truite* and the two galleys did the same from their positions. This firing lasted with the same briskness until the next day, but in the morning everything was hidden by a dense fog. In this interval the English were silent. Count d'Estaing, finding that our fire had been too lively and fearing we would run short of ammunition, ordered it diminished.[39] When the fog cleared up and things around could be distinguished, all the English batteries fired at us. We returned

[38] Lawrence (*op. cit.*, 158) says of this incident that the troops under De Browne fired "on what d'Estaing called an imaginary enemy." De Browne was later reprimanded "for drinking on duty."

The following night yet another incident occurred. According to Lawrence (*ibid.*) a working party was mistaken for an enemy patrol, and French fired on French causing more casualties. This follows the French account of what happened on the night of the 27th. Jones (*op. cit.*, 389) and McCall (*op. cit.*, 438–439) state that in reality a second sortie by the 71st regiment under Major Archibald McArthur was made against the French construction work. The party attacked strongly and retired quickly, with the result that the French on the right and the Americans on the left found themselves firing at one another.

[39] Another version says that the firing was stopped at two o'clock by De Noailles because the bombs were falling into his trench. The "bad firing was occasioned by a mistake of a ship's steward who had sent to the cannoneers a keg of rum instead of a keg of beer." —*Siege of Savannah*, 24–25.

fire with precision and dismounted their chief battery. This could have had a much more considerable advantage had not the nature of the ground allowed for a quick repair. The battery at the English barracks, attacking us at the side, did us much harm and killed many. We were obliged to dig trenches hastily to cover our troops. For several days we fired in the same manner, but soon perceived that our batteries not only had poor positions but seemed to carry no effect. In less than an hour the English made up for the loss of one day. As soon as they located the positions of our batteries, they built in their camp streets heaps of sand, and our bullets hit only their tops or buried themselves in the sand.

Count d'Estaing, losing hope of reducing the place with our batteries, wanted to have the opinions of the chief officers of the army. Brown, an officer of great repute, who had gone to reconnoiter the enemy's works, assured him that it was impossible to take the place, that the attack was badly planned, and that at least 15,000 very good troops would be needed to carry it off. D'Estaing did not seem to approve of this, and consulted De Pondevaux, lieutenant colonel of the Auxerrois regiment. This officer, who was also acquainted with the English positions, answered that a wise retreat was the only decision to take in the circumstance. De Noailles[10] and De Dillon,[11] and several other officers, seemed to be of the same opinion, but Count d'Estaing replied that all this must end by the capture of Savannah. Chevalier Durumain proposed attacking from the sea, taking

[10] Louis Marie de Noailles (1756–1804), brother-in-law of Lafayette, served under D'Estaing in the West Indies. After the siege of Savannah he served under Rochambeau. At Yorktown he was chosen to represent the French army in the negotiations on the terms of surrender. He later returned to the United States and became a partner in the banking firm of Bingham & Co. in Philadelphia. He died of wounds received at Havana after his return to military service. –*DAB;* Balch, *op. cit.*, II: 189–194.

[11] Arthur, Count de Dillon (1750–1794), was an officer in the Dillon regiment (Irish Brigade), infantry, and fought at Rhode Island in 1778, under D'Estaing at the capture of Saint Vincent and Grenada in 1779, and commanded a division which included the first battalion of his regiment at Savannah. He was promoted to field marshal in 1784 and to lieutenant general in 1791. On April 14, 1794 he was guillotined in Paris. -Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 78 79; Michaud, XI:568; De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 171; Balch, *op. cit.*, II: 102–103.

upon himself, with 500 of his best men, to break through on that side and carry off the English works by attacking them at the flank. The General seemed to like this advice, as he did any advice meaning an attack on Savannah.

Our situation, meanwhile, grew more critical every day. It was risky for the squadron to stay such a long time at anchorage out at sea near the coast in a season considered dangerous in this region. Great mortality spread on board nearly all the vessels. Scurvy and dysentery, owing to the long sojourn in the islands, became general and daily carried away many people. All the vessels were damaged. Most of them had their rudders in a piteous condition, having suffered much from gusts of wind and a strong sea. *Le Magnifique* was sinking; all the pumps set to work could scarcely keep her afloat. Stores diminished, although several lucky captures off the coast had replenished them. The siege lasting for some time yet, it was feared that many ships would be put out of service. *La Provence* needed the few stores she had to get back to France. De Broves made the strongest representations of the squadron's critical situation to Count d'Estaing. None of the ships had strong cables, and every gust of wind carried with it terrible consequences. Water was lacking entirely, and there was the greatest difficulty in the world in getting some. D'Estaing had flattered himself that we could easily attack up the Savannah River, but bad weather, the ill will of the Americans, the number of rowboats used to supply the army, the difficulty of the tides, and the distance, all rendered this work hopelessly long. We had expected that the Charleston neighborhood would remedy these inconveniences and that we would get all necessary resources from there. Only gold could win the Americans to bring us different supplies. Not having thought of this unique principle, which was apt to draw them out of their lethargy, we had not yet used this means. The few fresh provisions obtained on the land were distributed on board our vessels with so little order, and there was so little order on land too, that the outcry became general.

To the inconveniences at sea were added those on land. Sickness progressed rapidly in the army. Nearly every one of the soldiers, overworked in a climate where the heat is intense during the day and the nights are freezing cold, fell sick. Count d'Estaing, flattering himself that he would take Savannah, expected this fact to parry all inconveniences. Durumain's proposition, which he seemed to accept at first, found strong opposition among the infantry officers, and the General decided on a false attack from this side.

On the eve of the day chosen for the general assault, Count d'Estaing gathered in his tent a council of the chief officers of the army. He communicated his plan of attack, and wanted to have their opinions but without allowing any discussion of it. Being firmly set on the attack as he himself had planned it, one fails to understand why he put the matter up for discussion. It only made particularly evident all the defects of its realization. The plan consisted of carrying off some English trenches on the side of the barracks batteries. This place was backed by two redoubts, flanked by two batteries, and it seemed almost impossible to break through there. At the same time a false attack on a part of the English works facing our trenches was ordered. Count d'Estaing flattered himself that a false attack by sea would contribute to the success of the day. He, together with General Lincoln, ordered another false attack by American militiamen to take place between the false attack by land and the principal one. All this was intended to conceal our real plan, but it was useless to imagine that the English would get no knowledge of our true designs. The American army was formed chiefly of local militia, and we were not ignorant of the fact that many militiamen betrayed us continually and gave the English an exact account of our operations. One day 15 American soldiers deserted with their chief officer, and every evening militiamen went to Savannah, spent the night there, and came back to their camp the next day. Neither the General nor any chief officer of the American army could be suspected of favoring them in the least; they were known as excellent Americans, but were obliged to be

very prudent as is common in a war of parties where opinions differ. They knew but could not prevent a proceeding so dangerous to the common cause.

Count d'Estaing, having prepared the attack, decided it would take place at dawn on the 9th of October. Count de Dillon commanded the columns which were to attack the redoubts in front of the barracks. He had under him Brown and Lieutenant Colonel O'Dunne. Viscount de Noailles was at the head of the reserve corps, with De Pondevaux as second in command. Count d'Estaing, who marched at the head of all the columns of the main attack, had with him Marquis de Fontanges,[42] all his aides-de-camp, engineer, artillery, and navy officers. The marines and San Domingo volunteers, who were to make the false attack, were under De la Sablière,[43] captain in the Cambrésis regiment. He had orders to advance to the English trenches, make several discharges of musketry, and return to our trenches to defend them. Chevalier Durumain had orders to move with two galleys, if he could, to the foot of the town, and fire at it, either from on board the galleys, or from the two launches and two ship's boats, where 80 navy men and infantry troops were on board. This attack seemed very risky; there were an English galley, a razing battery, a brig broadside, and a fort, and added to this was the superiority the troops which were defending this side would have over us, since they were occupying a high, almost perpendicular post and would be able to fire at us without any chance for us to return their fire.

[42] François, Vicomte de Fontanges (1740–1826) entered military service in 1756. A lieutenant colonel by 1778, he was an acting major general and chief of staff or adjunct general at Savannah. As such he had been sent to Charleston to contact General Lincoln before the landing and siege. During the fighting he was severely wounded, but for his services was promoted to the rank of colonel. In 1783–84 he was acting major general of the regular troops and militia at San Domingo. By 1789 he was a field marshal, and after the Restoration a lieutenant general and commander at Saint Louis. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 179–180; Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 87; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 70; Balch, *op. cit.*, 129–130.

[43] Joseph-Claude-Louis de Grenouillet de Sablières de la Tribale was senior captain commandant of his regiment, with the rank of major at this time. He had served under D'Estaing at Newport, R. I. and Boston as well. In 1784 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, and was honorably retired in 1789. —Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 208.

After all the dispositions were made, during the night De Fontanges, major general of the army, made great changes in different companies, which he mixed together with mulatto and with volunteer Grenadiers to form new companies, giving their command to officers unacquainted with their soldiers. This way of proceeding could have only bad consequences. We were informed that this very night several American soldiers deserted.[44] D'Estaing, who was aware of it, persisting in his desire to attack, reviewed all his troops at 2 o'clock after midnight. After the review, being about to order the march, he turned to the officers at his side and told them that he had a poor opinion of the attack and that the troops seemed ready to share his views. It would then have been more prudent perhaps to put off the assault for another day, but everybody in the army did not think as the chief officers spoken of did. Some young officers, listening more to the ardor of their youth than to prudent advice, entertained D'Estaing's hopes for a successful day, and, in consequence, he gave the order to march.

Chevalier de Béthisy,[45] *colonel en second* of the Gâtinais regiment, at the head of 500 Grenadiers and Chasseurs, formed the vanguard, and was preceded by Vence,[46] auxiliary officer, harbor master of Grenada and head of a corps of 150 volunteers. They marched straight at the enemy. On reaching a ditch defended by stockades, they were caught by the enemy's fire, and, not being able to return it—the English firing from behind a parapet without being seen—the troops began to waver, and, instead of

[44] The story most frequently told is that one deserter, Sergeant Major James Curry of the Charleston Grenadiers, disclosed the exact plan of the attack to the British. He was later captured by the Americans at Hobkirk and hanged. Lawrence (*op. cit.*, 97–98, 176), however, has found no proof of this.

[45] Viscount Jules-Jacques-Eléonore de Béthisy (1748–1816) held the rank of *mestre de camp en second* in 1779. He became a field marshal in 1814, and a lieutenant general the following year. —De Contenson, *op. cit.*, 139. See also Michaud, LVIII: 198.

[46] Jean-Gaspard Vence (1747–1808) had received a letter of marque from Congress after the Revolution broke out, and by the time of the French entry into the war had taken 211 prizes and fought 40 battles. He held the rank of *lieutenant de vaisseau* after Grenada, at which time he was also named captain of that port. He was raised to the rank of rear admiral in 1794, and some time later was *commandant d'armes* at Toulon and maritime prefect in 1803. —De Contenson, *ibid.*, 277–278. See also Lasseray, *op. cit.*, II: 468–480.

attacking at that spot, ran in the greatest confusion along the stockades. Only a few of Vence's volunteers leaped over the ditch and climbed the back of the trench. Several pushed on to the first redoubt, but seeing three guns directed toward the outlet, and finding themselves abandoned by their troops, fell back. Utmost confusion then reigned in this army. All the detachments were mixed together. One of the columns, lost at the beginning of the attack, rushed into a marsh, and the slaughter was terrible there. Most soldiers, not acquainted with their new chief officers, did not obey their orders. Whole companies stood still, under the briskest firing, on the spot they occupied. Never was such confusion seen before. Count d'Estaing, who was at the front with some navy officers, tried vainly to urge on his soldiers. Nobody listened, and unable to distinguish things at such a distance, he could not find the means of obviating the situation. The enemy's firing grew more intense when ours slackened. Count d'Estaing, seeing at last how useless it was to expose his troops longer, decided to retreat. This movement had some danger in it. Most of the columns which had left the main point of attack had rushed into the marshes, and it was difficult to gather them again to execute this maneuver.

Our dangerous enemy, Colonel Maitland, who defended his trenches at the head of his troops, seeing our army ready to withdraw, gathered 1,200 of his best men to cut the retreat. Ready to charge, he perceived that our reserve corps under Viscount de Noailles was standing firm and rallying the fugitives. Fearing to compromise the glory of this day, he gave orders to intensify the firing of the English batteries. An awful slaughter took place then in the marshes. We lost a great many officers. Colonel Brown was killed; Chevalier de Béthisy wounded three times; De Fontanges had a bullet in his side; Count d'Estaing, slightly wounded in the arm, got a bullet in the knee. General Pulaski, of Polish nationality, had a thigh broken.[47]

[47] This wound, received in a daring assault to try to get inside the town, an attempt halted by a heavy cross-fire, proved fatal. He was removed from the field and put aboard the American brig *Wasp* to be taken to Charleston. Though attended by the best surgeons of the French fleet he died before the ship could leave the Savannah River. —Jones, *op. cit.*, 402–403.

Our loses were 600 or 700 killed and wounded. The Americans lost 300 soldiers and many officers.[18] General Lincoln and Colonel Laurens[19] conducted themselves splendidly. The Continental troops displayed great courage. They stood firm under the enemy fire at the foot of the ditch until Count d'Estaing sent orders for them to withdraw. The local militiamen were less satisfactory. They fled at the beginning of the action, and it was useless to rally them. Fear was so strong and blinded them so, that part of them fled toward the firing. A dull mist hid all the objects around, and it was surely very lucky for us, for we should have lost many people, and the false attack by Navy troops and volunteers from the Cape would have been crushed. De la Sablière, obeying his orders, advanced as far as the ditch. The enemy did not seem inclined to defend this post. Having remained there for some time without firing, he ordered his troops to send a volley of musketry, which the enemy returned by firing several shots. De la Sablière then ordered his men to retreat and enter the trenches, and to defend them if necessary.

The false attack by sea did not succeed at all. Chevalier Durumain, who had ordered the galleys kept in readiness to sail the moment the tide would allow it, embarked at 1 o'clock after midnight. He had two launches and three ship's boats laden with troops to be used in this false attack. When the tide allowed it the boats towed the galleys. One of them dropped anchor and did not advance in spite of the boats' efforts. The other had a hole in her hold and was sinking. Much ill will on the part of the

[18] Lawrence (*op. cit.*, 160) lists the casualties as: French—11 officers killed, 35 wounded, 140 rank and file killed, 335 wounded; American—231 killed and wounded, of whom 21 officers were killed or mortally wounded and 16 wounded; British—3 officers and 15 men killed and 39 wounded. The statistics of the fight, according to a British source, were 900 Allies killed and wounded (637 French, 264 American); total British loss, 54. –Fortescue, *op. cit.*, III: 286. For yet other figures see Jones, *op. cit.*, 406–407.

[19] John Laurens (1754–1782) had joined Washington's staff in 1777. He was soon commissioned a lieutenant colonel, and fought at Brandywine, Monmouth, Germantown, and was at Valley Forge. In 1779, having left the army, he was elected to the South Carolina Assembly. When General Prevost invaded that state, however, he returned to military duty, served under Lincoln at Savannah, and was captured with the latter at Charleston in 1780. After his exchange he was sent to France as an envoy extraordinary, but returned in time to fight at Yorktown. –*DAB*.

American officers cut all hope of successfully using these ships, in the use of which lay the main force of the attack. Durumain, feeling how imprudent it would be to insist on the attack with only small boats which would be crushed in a moment by the batteries of the English fort, and not wishing to remain useless on this occasion, decided to rally the main army with all the troops under him. He therefore gave the order to land, and bid the officers follow him. These troops, who had to walk a distance of three-quarters of a mile, joined the battlefield only a little while before the retreat. Durumain, full of ardor and too impatient to wait for the landing, landed first and immediately entered the trenches. The officers, who had remained with the troops, not knowing what had become of him, detached De Puységur to get orders at the camp concerning their destination. They received orders to join the columns of Viscount de Noailles.

Our troops joined that camp, and, Count D'Estaing being wounded, the command of the army passed to Count de Dillon, who immediately hoisted a truce flag. We asked for a cease-fire for a few hours to remove the wounded and bury the dead. It was immediately granted, and we could communicate with the enemy. We do not know whether what they said about the intended treason of the Americans had any real foundation to it, or whether it was a political way of trying to separate us from them. They assured us that they were instructed at every moment of what happened in our camp and all our deliberations. They again assured us that they had known the evening before our main point of attack, and it enabled them to concentrate all their forces there. General Prevost's son asked how many vessels were at anchorage before the Savannah River, and great was his amazement when he learned that Count d'Estaing had twenty-two vessels. He could not conceive of how one could expose such a great force on a dangerous coast at at such a critical season. He assured us that the English never came with more than two or three small vessels which set sail again whenever the operations they had to perform allowed it.

Count d'Estaing was obliged to be removed to a house far from the encampment. Before going, however, he ordered that preparations be made to raise the siege. Consequently, batteries were dismounted, and guns and mortars were carried to the field hospital. The retreat appeared difficult to the chief officers of the army, who thought that the English might choose to hinder it. The Americans wanted our army to follow them to Charleston. Daily councils were held on this subject and the results sent to Count d'Estaing, who, in spite of the presumed difficulty and the request of the Americans, insisted upon retreating at once by the Savannah River.

At this time he received a deputation from Charleston bidding him to send troops for the defense of that town. Marquis de Brétigny was charged with making this request. Count d'Estaing, who had come to Savannah only at the proposal of this Frenchman,[50] received him with ill humor, and accused him of being the cause of our misfortune. This officer defended himself warmly from this accusation, saying that he never thought of summoning us to this country with such a big naval force; that, moreover, he always said that the taking of Savannah should be by surprise, and that if the town had been attacked directly after the landing it would certainly have been carried off; that it was not his fault if time was given to the English to fortify it and to rally all the troops from the different posts of the country; that he had assured Count d'Estaing that the greatest error would be to let our army join the Americans; that it would have been much wiser to have let General Lincoln attack the town of Port Royal where Colonel Maitland commanded and this would have prevented the junction of his troops with General Prevost's; and that, finally, he was not guilty if we had lost a whole month in the most aimless operations. Pressed by these reasons, Count d'Estaing ended by telling Marquis de Brétigny that a common misfortune ought to reconcile them. As to the council's request, he assured them that

[50] De Brétigny's letter urging D'Estaing to come with his fleet to South Carolina and Georgia to rid that coast of the British is reprinted in Lasseray, *op. cit.*, I:136–138.

he was not master to dispose of his troops since they were appointed to the defense of our islands, but, to prove to the council his interest in the American cause, he would order the frigates *La Chimère* and *Le Lively* and both sloops *La Bricole* and *La Truite* to sail to Charleston and to be used for the defense of that place in case of siege.

The general army officers, by order of Count d'Estaing, went to reconnoiter the country and choose the most convenient place for the re-embarkment. They found that an English camp, set up ten months ago when they came to attack Savannah, would be the best place for it. The camp was backed by the sea and surrounded completely by marshes. It had only one outlet and could be defended by the smallest fortification. As soon as all munitions, all the army's luggage, the sick and the wounded were embarked, the army decamped from before Savannah, twelve hours after the American army, and established its post at the new camp.[51]

The re-embarkment of all the troops was done very easily. They all went aboard vessels and frigates on the 21st of October. The weather happily was very fine. If it had been what it became a few days hence, the army would have risked running short of supplies. *La Bricole*, which had 500 men aboard, had food for only two days. Most of the frigates in the river had very little. Count d'Estaing, who was carried aboard his ship, gave orders to embark the troops aboard vessels and frigates from Brest which had to return to the American islands [West Indies].[52]

[51] On October 11th a majority of the French officers at a council of war urged retreat by way of Charleston, but D'Estaing was adamant in his decision to retreat from Causton's Bluff, near Thunderbolt. On the 13th details were formally arranged with the Americans, who then made their departure (the 15th through 18th), after covering which the French began their own retreat.

[52] The ending of this expedition was in keeping with the preceding events. La Motte-Picquet's squadron left for the Leeward Islands on the 25th. The following day De Vaudreuil sailed for Chesapeake Bay with two ships. On the 28th the storm mentioned above forced some of the ships to sail eastward, including D'Estaing's. He reached Brest, and a hero's welcome, on December 5th. His sudden departure left several ships off Georgia with no sailing orders, and it was not until November 2d that the last French ship finally left. —Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 160–161.

ALBERT GALLATIN (1761–1849)

U. S. Secretary of the Treasury; Minister to France and Great Britain
President of The New-York Historical Society, 1843–1849
Signed: "Painted by Wm. H. Powell 1843"

Gift of the artist, 1844

GENTLEMAN FROM GENEVA

ALBERT GALLATIN: JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT*

by RAYMOND WALTERS, JR.

SOME TIME AGO, on a radio quiz program, a woman was asked this question: "What native of Geneva, Switzerland, served as an instructor of French at Harvard College, as a member of the Pennsylvania legislature, as a congressman and United States senator, as Secretary of the Treasury in the administrations of Presidents Jefferson and Madison, was a candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States, and served as the president of an important New York City bank?"

The woman, alas, was not able to supply the sixty-four dollar answer. The tragedy is that she was no more uninformed than the majority of her fellow citizens, for, although Albert Gallatin was a great financier, diplomat, and statesman, his services to the American people have never been adequately recognized by them.

One reason for this neglect may well be that he was born abroad. For it is an ironic fact that the United States, a nation composed of immigrants of one generation or another, is reluctant to acknowledge the contributions of its adopted sons. This is all the more regrettable in the case of Gallatin because so much of what he gave to the United States was derived from his Genevan heritage.

Geneva in the time of Gallatin was unique among the cities of the world. Superbly located in the heart of the Alps, at the south end of Lake Leman (Lake Geneva), it was clean, compact, brightly beautiful. By the latter part of the 18th century—Gallatin was born there on January 29, 1761—it was already an

* This essay is largely derived from a talk given by the author at The New-York Historical Society, May 8, 1951. Dr. Walters, who is book review editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, is engaged in writing what is expected to be (as nearly as such works can be) the definitive Life of Albert Gallatin, based in large part upon an exhaustive coverage of the Gallatin Collection at the Society.

ancient city with a history its proud citizens traced back well before Roman times. For more than two centuries, since the time of the Protestant Reformation, it had been an independent republic, although it was surrounded by the covetous neighboring monarchical states of France, Germany, and Italy.

Eighteenth-century Geneva's extraordinary position in Europe was described in an article which the French philosopher D'Alembert wrote in 1755 for Diderot's *Encyclopedia*—the celebrated work that hastened the advent of the French Revolution. "It is most singular," he said, "that a city which has scarcely 24,000 inhabitants insists upon remaining a sovereign state. It is one of the most prosperous towns in Europe. Rich through its liberty and commerce, it frequently sees lands on every side of it afire without envy; the events that stir Europe are for Geneva only a spectacle which it enjoys without participating in."

But this republican island in the European sea of monarchy was not a democracy in the modern sense. The franchise was extended only to citizens, and at the time, according to Gallatin's estimate, less than one-twelfth of the population of Geneva held that rank. Moreover, the government was so organized that in effect it was controlled by perhaps a dozen families. This oligarchy was composed not of nobles but aristocrats; they could retain their positions of influence from generation to generation not through heredity but by the exercise of intelligence and industry. One of Geneva's ruling families was that into which Albert Gallatin was born.

The Gallatin family was almost as ancient as the city. The New-York Historical Society has in its possession a document dated 1258 that mentions a Gallatin by name—which suggests that the family can be traced back farther than perhaps any other in America today. Other carefully preserved records make it clear that the Gallatins lived as minor noblemen in Savoy, France, about thirty-five miles south of Geneva, from the 14th to the 16th centuries, coming to Geneva in 1510 at the time of the

Reformation. By 1535 they were well enough established there to be among the eleven families that welcomed the Protestant leader John Calvin as ruler of the city. During the next two centuries five Gallatins served as syndics—executives of the government of the republic.

Albert Gallatin's immediate family was engaged in the prosperous commerce which Geneva enjoyed as a great trading center in the heart of Europe. His father and mother were both active in the family business, and his grandfather, head of one of the four branches of the family then living in Geneva, prospered sufficiently to maintain an estate at Pregny, a few miles outside the city on the western shore of the lake. Albert's parents died when he was quite young, so during his formative years he was in the charge of Catherine Pictet, a middle-aged spinster who was a distant relative.

While growing up, Albert benefited from the fine educational facilities afforded by his native city. As a child, he attended a local boarding school; from his fifteenth to his nineteenth years he was a student at the university—locally called "the Academy" —which Calvin had founded in 1559. In an age when few schools were either free or public, the Geneva Academy offered a sound classical course—strong in Latin, with a smattering of Greek—to the sons of all citizens without charge. Most citizens of Geneva, however, were intent upon having their children prepare not for a profession but for such flourishing trades as watch-making, so comparatively few enjoyed the opportunities offered by the Academy. As a student young Gallatin did quite well in the classical subjects and in mathematics.

Another of Calvin's gifts to Geneva was its peculiar moral climate. When he was a very old man, Albert Gallatin described this phenomenon in a letter to a friend: "During the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth century, the Genevese were the counterpart of the Puritans of Old and the Pilgrims of New England." The theocracy established by Calvin controlled the individual life and social relations of the citizens. The

Genevese shared "the same doctrines, the same simplicity in the external forms of worship, the same austerity of morals and severity of manners, the same attention to schools and seminaries of learning, the same virtues, and the same defects—exclusiveness and intolerance, banning all those who differed on any part of the established creed."

By the time Gallatin was growing up in Geneva, this Puritanism was somewhat relaxed, but the tradition lingered on. Still in effect were laws which—in the words of D'Alembert writing in the *Encyclopedia*—"prohibited the wearing of jewelry, gold, and silver, limited the cost of funerals, and required all citizens to travel afoot in the streets; carriages were permitted only in the open country."

One significant Genevan law concerned the discharge of debts: The children of bankrupts were barred from any important public office as long as the father's debts had not been satisfied. In his *The Spirit of the Laws*, Montesquieu described this law as "admirable," because "it has this effect: it creates confidence in the merchants, in the magistrates, and in the city itself. The credit of the individual still has all the weight of public credit."

The spirit of frugality and plain living likewise affected Geneva's public life. "Although the city is rich"—to quote D'Alembert and the *Encyclopedia* again—"the government is poor because of the repugnance that the people feel for new taxes, even the least onerous. The government's revenue is tiny by French standards, yet the admirable economy with which it is administered makes it suffice, and it even produces reserve funds for extraordinary needs."

Yet despite the Calvinistic heritage, the city had a cosmopolitan atmosphere. From Germany and other northern lands many nobles and princes came to complete their education; from England came numbers of lords and gentlemen; from America such prominent South Carolinians as William Smith and Henry Laurens, such well-connected Pennsylvanians as the young

Penns and the grandson of Benjamin Franklin. Most of these young gentlemen attended the riding and jousting academies for which Geneva was celebrated.

During Gallatin's boyhood the city played host to perhaps the most celebrated man of letters of the age. Toward the close of a long life spent wandering from France to England, from the court of Louis XIV to the court of Frederick the Great, Voltaire settled at Geneva, and later in a château at Ferney, three miles outside of Geneva, just over the border in France. During the last two sequestered decades of his life there Voltaire published *Candide* and *Tancrede*.

Voltaire also had an estate at Pregny, close by the home of Albert Gallatin's grandparents. His grandmother, known as Madame Gallatin-Vaudenet, was one of the philosopher's closest friends, as some of their correspondence, still preserved at The New-York Historical Society, attests.* On visits with his grandmother at Ferney and Pregny, the boy Albert became acquainted with Voltaire's circle. The memories he carried away were vivid and treasured. More than two decades later, during a visit to Ferney, Gallatin recollected them in a conversation with his elder son James, who set them down in his extraordinary but not always trustworthy diary:

"February 15 [1815]: During déjeuner father told me how he used to be brought by his grandmother to Ferney; that he often dined at the table we were sitting at with the friends of Voltaire ... the marquis of Condorcet who wrote the letters of Junius ... the Abbé Galiani, the great wit and raconteur whose indecent stories even Madame Necker forgave; Diderot the atheist, and Grimm. He said, 'I feel them hovering around us now and can nearly hear their voices.'" Subsequently he told James about the plays of Voltaire "that were acted at Ferney and Pregny; in fact he [Albert] himself had taken the role of a negro boy in oriental dress when he was twelve years old. One Sunday, Voltaire took

* See herein "The Correspondence of Voltaire and Madame Gallatin, 1758–1772," transcribed and translated with an introduction by Constance D. Sherman.

him into the garden and, pointing to the heavens, said, 'That is the dome made by the great God—not the God created by man. . . . When I was older, he impressed upon me always to be charitable in thought and action, to benefit my fellow-creatures as much as was within my power, always to speak the truth, and never to be afraid to give my opinion.'"

Geneva had another tradition that was to affect Gallatin: Virtually all its native sons of exceptional ability in the arts and sciences were obliged to go abroad for proper opportunity and recognition. Why this was so is open to speculation: Possibly the Calvinist tradition was too constricting for talents of such a sort; certainly the city-state was too small for the exercise of them on any considerable scale.

Four decades before Gallatin's birth a youth by the name of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the son of a watchmaker of the lower middle class, had departed Geneva, going to France where he won international acclaim and notoriety as a philosopher, a musical composer, a romantic novelist, and a revolutionary educational theorist. The "heresy" in his publications ultimately led to his banishment from France. For years he had proudly styled himself "Citizen of Geneva," but now, when he sought refuge in his native city, he found that the government of the republic, acceding to clerical pressure, likewise denied him residence. Rousseau lived in exile for some years at the Swiss village of Motiers-Travers, waging a feud with Voltaire and his followers that split the society of Geneva apart, the aristocrats (of whom Gallatin's relatives were naturally a part) siding with Voltaire, the middle-class and laboring people of the town espousing Rousseau's cause. From the correspondence of Gallatin and his school friends it is clear that they and several of their friends, if not the practical-minded Gallatin himself, read Rousseau's works and cherished his romantic dreams.

Another native of Geneva, three decades older than Gallatin, whose career in many respects paralleled his, was Jacques Necker. About the time Albert Gallatin was entering the

Academy, Necker was being appointed comptroller-general by Louis XVI of France. The financial measures Necker introduced were the essence of Genevan commercial morality: financial reforms that included a more equitable system of taxation; a plan for funding the national debt; a comprehensive reckoning, through a report called *Le Comte Rendu*, of governmental finances. Necker's insistence that the French government live within its budget, even if that meant retrenchment in many spheres, led to his dismissal; but his financial talents led to his recall to office several times before the outbreak of the French Revolution.

This Genevan tradition of going abroad to make one's fortune touched a responsive chord in Albert Gallatin. Doubtless he was anxious to be independent of Mlle. Pictet as well as his grandparents; he was nineteen years of age and adventurous. But when his grandmother suggested that she might get him a commission in the Hessian forces fighting the American revolutionists in behalf of George III, he disdainfully declined to "serve a tyrant." Nevertheless, America did have a fascination for him. In company with a school friend who was anxious to find Rousseau's "noble savage" in the New World, he ran away from home in the spring of 1780, sailing from Nantes in France for Boston in America.

For the remaining seventy years of his life Gallatin identified himself completely with the United States. On three occasions during the more than two decades he subsequently spent in the diplomatic service of his adopted country—in 1815, in 1817, and in 1824—he paid visits to his native city, renewing the acquaintanceships of his youth, but these were for only brief periods.

The Genevan heritage Albert Gallatin absorbed during his first nineteen years greatly influenced his thought and action during the remainder of his lifetime. This heritage made it relatively easy for him to settle down in his adopted land; it enabled him to serve that country usefully and fruitfully.

It is quite possible that Gallatin's deep-felt fondness for Geneva even governed his selection of a place for a permanent home in America. At any rate, after close to a decade of aimless wandering through the northeastern United States, he finally settled on an Allegheny mountainside, overlooking the Monongahela River, in western Pennsylvania. Friendship Hill, as he called the estate he created there, was his official home for forty years. Many visitors commented upon the resemblance of the countryside topographically to that of his birthplace. During his long and in the end unsuccessful attempt to establish an industrial community, with a glassworks as a nucleus, not far from Friendship Hill, he called the town, significantly enough, New Geneva.

In another way Gallatin found western Pennsylvania somewhat like the home he had forsaken. It did not take him and his schoolmate companion long to discover that the "noble savages" of the New World were far less agreeable and romantic neighbors than Rousseau had led them to expect. But he found the hills of western Pennsylvania inhabited largely by pioneering farmers of a familiar breed—frugal, hard-working, plain-living, God-fearing Scotch-Irish Calvinists whose outlook resembled that of the people among whom he had grown up. This fact made it easier for Gallatin to overcome the prejudices created by an alien birth and a foreign tongue; these Westerners readily accepted him as one of their own and elected him as their representative to the State and Federal legislatures. It is significant that, after his marriage to a socially ambitious, city-bred woman, he often regretted his selection of so remote a home; but he never complained about his neighbors—indeed, he repeatedly extolled their simple virtues to his pleasure-loving son James.

It is small wonder that Gallatin—a man in whose veins flowed the blood of five syndics of Geneva, a man who had been raised in an atmosphere in which it was expected that members of leading families establish their claims for influence on the continuous exercise in the public interest of their native intelligence, in-

dustry, and education—should have pursued a political career in his adopted country. During the post-Revolutionary years and up to the time of the Civil War, the United States was a most congenial place for the heir of such a tradition. Probably the greater number of men with whom Gallatin associated during his service as congressman and cabinet member were "well-born" men like himself, devoting their energies and abilities to the public weal.

In other ways, too, the United States was an especially congenial place for a son of Geneva. Like Geneva, the United States was comparatively small in population and poor in wealth, and though an independent, sovereign state, was jealously regarded by the great nations of Europe. Like Geneva, the United States was a republic in an age of monarchies, its manners and morals characterized by a republican simplicity. Although neither state was a democracy in the present sense of the word, both had large, articulate, and aggressive groups of citizens working for more democratic government. As a Geneva schoolboy Gallatin had rebelled against the tradition of his family and had sympathized with the democratic forces; it was but a logical development that in the United States he should become one of the founders of the first national democratic party and one of Thomas Jefferson's chief lieutenants.

In his political career Gallatin was tremendously helped by the sound classical education he had received at the old Geneva Academy. Men with such training were scarce on the Pennsylvania frontier during the late 18th century; it was hardly surprising that he should have been readily accepted as a leader by his almost illiterate neighbors. It is difficult to measure the value of a formal education as distinct from other contributing assets to a political career; but certainly Gallatin's training at Geneva, the equivalent if not the superior of that enjoyed by any American in that age, stood him in good stead during his years as legislator, administrator, and diplomat.

Gallatin was most anxious that an education comparable to

that which he had enjoyed should be made available to the youth of his adopted State. At three of the four sessions of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in which he served, he introduced legislation looking toward the establishment of a free public-supported school system. The arguments he used in his eloquent speeches in behalf of his program reflected his Genevan educational heritage. But the Quaker and German coalition in the legislature was cool to such ideas and the project was pigeonholed for three decades.

In no field was Gallatin's contribution to his adopted country more considerable than in finance; in no field did his contribution reflect more faithfully his Genevan background. In his old age he made it clear that he was aware of this fact when he assisted in the preparation of a sketch of his life for the monthly *Democratic Review*. He prefaced the section summarizing his accomplishments in the field of public finance with an approving reference to Montesquieu's comment about the Genevan law in regard to debts which has been quoted earlier.

Actually, Gallatin followed these Genevan precepts to an extraordinary degree. He flatly denied the validity of the philosophy, popular at the time and generally attributed to Alexander Hamilton, that a public debt—or at least a funded debt—is a national heritage. Thanks to him, as the "laboring oar" of the ways and means committee of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, within a two-year period the State paid off the considerable debt it had incurred during the Revolutionary War and started operations on a strict "pay-as-you-go" basis. He even was successful in getting the State to pay its debtors more than Hamilton would have had them paid on the ground that the Secretary's calculations did not give them all that was properly due. And this despite the fact that the creditors were members of a group generally unpopular with the members of Gallatin's own party!

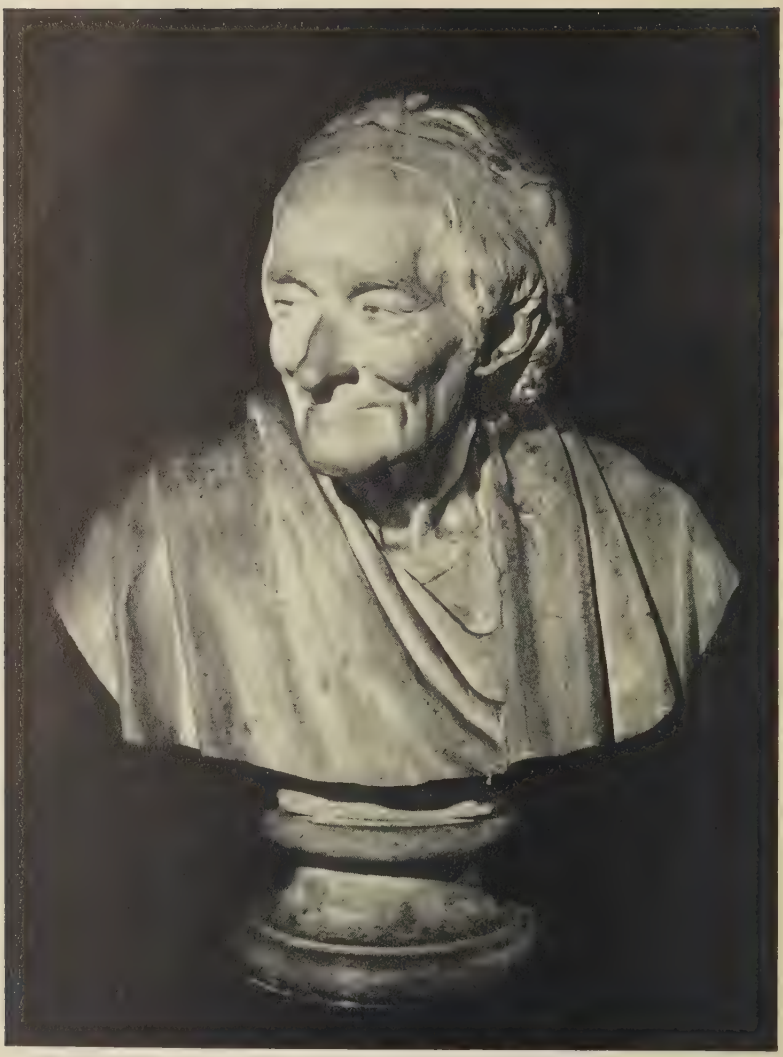
Again, as a member of the Federal Senate and House of Representatives, Gallatin revealed his Genevan financial conscience

when he insisted that the Washington and Adams administrations give a strict and complete accounting of their fiscal operations to the Congress and the people. During his tenure of the secretaryship of the Treasury—the longest tenure of that office by any man in American history—he labored tirelessly to pay off the entire Federal debt by 1817. He might very well have succeeded, too—between 1801 and 1811 he reduced the debt from $80 to $45 millions—if it had not been for the advent of the War of 1812 with all its attendant expenses.

Second only in importance to Gallatin's financial statesmanship was his long service abroad as a diplomat. In Russia and the Netherlands during the protracted and difficult negotiations to bring the War of 1812 to an end, in France and Great Britain as minister to the courts of those nations, Gallatin daily mingled with the leaders of European political and cultural life. Too many American diplomats of that day had rustic and at best provincial backgrounds. With his cosmopolitan Genevan background Gallatin made a better impression and probably accomplished more for his country than did the majority of his compatriots.*

For his contribution to the United States during its formative period Albert Gallatin ranks among the great men of the nation—in that tiny group just below Washington and Hamilton, Jefferson and Madison. Albert Gallatin was always grateful for the welcome and opportunities his adopted land extended to him, a footloose son of Geneva. America should be equally grateful to him and the city that endowed him with so rich a heritage.

* For further elucidation of the scope of Gallatin's cosmopolitan connections during this period and a sampling of the riches in his diplomatic correspondence to be found among the Gallatin Archives at The New-York Historical Society, see herein, "Gallatin Revisited, Part Four: While Kings Defied the Will of God—A Glance at Our Minister's Mail," by Wayne Andrews.



FRANÇOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE (1694–1778)

Plaster bust by Jean Antoine Houdon, 1778

Courtesy of Mr. A. E. Gallatin

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF VOLTAIRE AND MADAME GALLATIN, 1758–1772

Transcribed and translated with an introduction by CONSTANCE D. SHERMAN*

A YEAR AGO last May, when The New-York Historical Society celebrated the 150th anniversary of Albert Gallatin's appointment as Secretary of the Treasury, a sheaf of letters was placed on exhibition. These letters, written by Voltaire to his "very worthy neighbor," Madame Gallatin-Vaudenet, form part of a correspondence extending from 1758 to 1772 and were a gift to the Society from the Gallatin family.[1]

Although envelopes are said to be a French invention, they did not come into general use until this correspondence was nearly a century old. Voltaire folded his letter, wrote the address on the outside, and then affixed the waxen seal bearing his coat of arms. This is a "shield bracing three flames." It was such a short distance to Madame Gallatin's home at Pregny that messages could be sent back and forth very quickly and one day Voltaire wrote: "We are leaving in an hour to come and see

* Miss Sherman, who graduated from Oberlin College *summa cum laude* with honors in French, who earned her master's degree from Smith College under a Trustee Fellowship, won honorable mention on her *Diplôme de l'Ecole de Préparation* at the Sorbonne, and pursued further studies at the University of Munich, the University of Mexico, and elsewhere, is well qualified for the work here presented. She was formerly Assistant Professor of French at Coker College, staff translator for the Cross Cultural Survey at Yale, and is presently secretary to Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy, Lamont Curator of Birds, American Museum of Natural History.

[1] The superb collection includes two poems on *La Pucelle: L'Epitre du Père Grisbourdon de l'enfer à M. de Voltaire* and *l'Epitre de Belzebub sur le poème de la Pucelle*. There is the second part of *La Guerre de Genève*, the manuscript of a play entitled *Charlot ou la Comtesse de Givry*, the verses written by La Harpe and Chabanon for the celebration of Voltaire's saint's day in October, 1767, *La Réponse de M. de Voltaire à la première épitre de M. de Villette, Ils ont berné mon capuchon, A. M. Necker, Eh quoi? Vous êtes étonnée*. and 59 letters. Several of these have been quoted by biographers of Voltaire. Marc Peter, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Switzerland, reproduced a number in *Une Amie de Voltaire, Madame Gallatin*, Lausanne, 1925, a small volume not listed in the Catalogue of the Library of Congress, and the others have never been published.

you." Some of the notes are just a few words on the back of a playing card. Voltaire always carried a deck of these, frequently jotting down ideas and observations. The longer ones are on sheets of various sizes. This paper is of such beautiful quality that the passage of nearly two centuries has failed to yellow it, or render it brittle. Always impatient, Voltaire wrote in a great hurry. In the same letter he may spell Madame Gallatin's name with two l's and again with one; he frequently omitted accents and seldom bothered about punctuation or paragraphing. His books were written with the same impetuous haste; then followed the laborious and never-ending task of correction. No edition of Voltaire's works ever satisfied him, the perfect one was always going to appear.

One of the magnets which drew Voltaire to Geneva was the presence of the Cramer brothers, who had an excellent publishing house and who, he hoped, could publish a definitive edition of his writings. After his quarrel with Frederick, Voltaire left Potsdam in 1753, bitter and disillusioned. For a time he traveled through France, stopping in Strasbourg and Colmar, and then going south to Lyons. Here he received a cordial welcome, but Cardinal de Tencin said frankly: "I can't ask you to have dinner with me, you have such a bad reputation at Court."[2] Paris was forbidden; France was not safe; yet Voltaire knew that if he sought refuge in a distant country, he would lose the annuities which constituted the larger part of his investments. Switzerland was close by. It offered liberty, independence, and an opportunity to publish his books. So on December 12, 1754, Voltaire, his favorite niece, Madame Denis, and his secretary, Collini, entered the gate of Geneva, dined at the home of the famous Dr. Tronchin, and took up their residence at the château de Prangins. Dr. Tronchin was a Genevan by birth; he had practiced in England, and was considered an outstanding physician in both Holland and France, where he insisted that the windows of the

[2] Clara Herpin [Pseud. Lucien Perey] et Gaston Maugras, *La Vie intime de Voltaire 1754–1778* (Calmann Lévy, 1885), 19.

palace of Versailles should be kept open even during the winter months. Before that time they were sealed, as cold air was thought to be injurious. Dr. Tronchin had just returned to his native city. He was attracting patients all the way from Paris, so no one thought it strange that the elderly and delicate French writer should wish to be near him.

In February, Voltaire rented a house at Monrion near Lausanne. Then Councillor Tronchin, a cousin of the doctor, made arrangements for the purchase of a house and garden at Saint Jean, near Geneva, which Voltaire christened Les Délices. As Catholics were not permitted to own property in Switzerland, Tronchin bought the house for 87,000 French francs. Voltaire paid him this sum, and obtained a lease for life.

During the first few months, Voltaire was delighted with everything. He and Madame Denis entertained a great deal, and before long a troupe of actors, including Madame Gallatin's daughter-in-law, Madame Gallatin-Rolaz, was organized to produce Voltaire's plays. Since the end of the 16th century no theater had been permitted in the citadel of Calvinism, and the Council of Geneva first warned Voltaire that these performances must cease, then it forbade the citizens of Geneva to take part, or even to witness them.

There were other difficulties as well. After D'Alembert had visited Voltaire, he wrote an article on Geneva for the Encyclopedia in which he stated that the religion of most of the ministers was nothing other than Socinianism. While this pleased Voltaire, it served only to widen the breach between him and the more conservative members of Genevan society. Soon afterwards, Jean Jacques Rousseau published his *Lettre sur les Spectacles* in which, among other paradoxes, he declared that "the theatre has the great inconvenience of bringing together the two sexes, which are destined by nature to live separately."

Gradually Voltaire realized that it would be wise for him to acquire a piece of property outside the Republic. He found what he was seeking in Fernex, which he pronounced and spelled

Ferney. This lay in Gex, just half an hour from Geneva. In September 1758, Voltaire started negotiations in the name of his niece, who was to be his heir. The following February the contract was signed, and Voltaire paid 24,000 crowns in cash for the property.

A triumphal ceremony marked Voltaire's taking possession of Ferney in September. Madame Denis, who dearly loved finery, had put on all of her diamonds, while Voltaire wore a suit of crimson velvet with ermine decorations. It was warm weather for velvet and furs, but Voltaire was now Lord of the Manor, and the actor must dress his part.

While the negotiations for Ferney were still in progress, Voltaire purchased the Château de Tournay, adjoining it. For the sum of 35,600 French francs, plus an agreement to expend twelve thousand more for repairs and improvements, Voltaire acquired for his lifetime the land and, with it, the title Count of Tournay. In a letter to his old friend Thiriot, Voltaire explained his reasons: "I now have four feet instead of two; one is at Lausanne in a very pretty winter house, another is at the Délices, near Geneva, where distinguished people come to see me. Those are my forefeet, the hind ones are at Ferney and Tournay."[3] By the acquisition of this domain in Burgundy, Voltaire could produce his plays without regard for the Council of Geneva. Yet if by any chance his enemies at the Court should threaten him with another term of imprisonment at the Bastille, he could cross the frontier within just a few minutes.

From 1760 until his death twenty-four years later, Voltaire spent most of his time at Ferney. He rebuilt the château completely, replacing the ancient walls and battlements by a house for which he himself drew the plan, a rectangle with eighteen casement windows across the front. From the vestibule, a stone staircase led up to the light-blue damask bedroom in which he did so much of his writing. Above the bed hung a portrait of the famous actor Lekain, while on the other walls were pictures of

[3] *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Kehl edition), LVI: 103.

VOLTAIRE AND HIS NIECE, MADAME MARIE-LOUISE MIGNOT DENIS

Crayon by Charles Nicholas Cochin

Gallatin Archives, The New-York Historical Society

Frederick and Voltaire. A portrait of Madame de Châtelet held the place of honor in the drawing room, and then there were busts of Newton and Locke, both of whom Voltaire greatly admired.

The park had charming walks bordered with trees, flower beds, carefully tended kitchen gardens, and "Voltaire's study." This was an enclosure formed by a hedge and roofed with the branches of an ancient linden tree. Voltaire liked to sit on a bench beneath this giant tree, and it was understood that when he was there he should not be disturbed. From the terrace of Ferney there was a beautiful view of the Lake of Geneva with the Alps and Mont Blanc towering in the distance. And finally, close to the gate, stood the little chapel with its dedication: *Deo erexit Voltaire.*

In *Candide* Voltaire declared that one should cultivate his

garden. This means not only working in the soil but, in its larger implications, it refers to all tasks which have as their ultimate objective the amelioration of social conditions. As a deist, Voltaire denied the divine revelation of morality, so the logical corollary is that virtue is restricted to man's relationships with his fellow man.

At the time when Voltaire acquired Ferney, the hamlet consisted of eight or ten hovels. Voltaire determined to make it a model community, so he drained a marsh, cleared large areas which had been overgrown with brambles for centuries, and purchased the newest types of agricultural equipment. Then he planted grapevines, four thousand of them, but they failed to produce a distinguished wine. He set out rows of trees along the roads leading from Gex to Geneva, then had to contend with thieves who stole the saplings to cut them up for firewood. The herds, chicken yard, and beehives all received the same careful attention.

By 1764, however, Voltaire realized that neither the climate nor the soil was adequate, so he turned to industry. As there was an abundance of clay, he established a tile-works for the manufacture of decorated faïence stoves. The next step was a tannery. Then he invited a colony of clock-makers to settle at Ferney. Later Voltaire planted mulberry groves for a silk-stocking factory. The town grew and prospered until by 1775 it numbered 12,000 inhabitants. Firm in his belief that the legal system of France needed to be corrected, Voltaire fought for the commutation of the worst tax oppressing the peasants. He succeeded in obtaining its reform.

Voltaire had made a large fortune which continued to increase until, by 1775, he had a yearly income of 177,000 francs. The expenses at Ferney, however, were enormous. The household consisted of Voltaire's niece, Marie-Louise Mignot Denis, whose husband had been killed in the war in Flanders in 1745. She was a plump, worldly woman who loved the theater and took a leading role in all the plays. Then there were the secretaries. The

Florentine Collini had to leave because he had mocked Madame Denis in a letter which she discovered. Voltaire, however, gave him a farewell purse and procured a new post for him with the Elector Palatine. Collini was succeeded by a Swiss lad of fourteen named Wagnière, who is often described as "the faithful," and later another boy from Savoy, Simon Bigex, was added to the staff to serve as a copyist.

In 1763 a Jesuit, Père Adam, arrived at Ferney, where he remained for 13 years. He said Mass in the chapel, was useful in problems of literary research beyond the capacities of the regular secretaries, and played an extremely good game of chess. Voltaire was frequently annoyed at being the loser in these contests.

Madame de Fontaine, the younger sister of Madame Denis, and the Marquis de Florian were often at Ferney. They were married in 1762. After Madame de Florian's death in 1771, the hospitable Voltaire invited the Marquis to come back for a long visit. He came, met another lady, and soon afterwards married again.

From 1760 to 1763, a distant relative of the poet Corneille was a member of the household. When Voltaire heard that Marie Corneille's parents could not afford the small pension of a convent in Normandy, he had her brought to Ferney. He gave her lessons in reading and writing; Madame Denis taught her how to do embroidery; and three years later he married her to Dupuits de la Chaux with a nice dowry, part of which came from the royalties on his *Commentaires sur Corneille*.

Another protégée of Voltaire's was Mademoiselle de Varicourt, whom they called "Belle et Bonne." She married the Marquis de Villette, who refused to accept a dowry.

In addition to the regular household, there was a constant procession of guests at Ferney. On days when there were plays, it was customary to invite sixty to eighty people to have supper after the performance. Since the gates of Geneva were locked at sunset, beds had to be found at Ferney, Tournay, or in one of the country houses which dotted the shores of the lake.

ABRAHAM DE GALLATIN (1706–1791)
Grandfather of Albert Gallatin (married in 1732)
Pastel, 8¾ x 6¾, attributed to Jean Baptiste Perronneau
Gallatin Archives, The New-York Historical Society

MADAME ABRAHAM DE GALLATIN, NÉE VAUDENET
Albert Gallatin's grandmother (1712–1792)
Pastel, 8¾ x 6¾, attributed to Jean Baptiste Perronneau
Gallatin Archives, The New-York Historical Society

Some of the guests recorded their impressions of Voltaire's appearance. He was a toothless skeleton, five feet three inches tall, with flashing eyes and a broad grin. Faithful to the fashions of his youth, he wore a little bonnet of black velvet and an enormous wig which accentuated the prominent nose and chin. His dress consisted of a vest that came down to the knees, steel-gray hose and gray shoes. Always sensitive to the cold, in winter he put on a long fur pelisse. If there was to be a play, Voltaire occasionally dressed in the morning and then startled the gardeners by appearing in costume to give them orders about the flowerbeds. He was proud of Ferney and interested in every detail pertaining to the happiness and welfare of its inhabitants.

One of Voltaire's favorite neighbors was Madame Gallatin-Vaudenet. Born in Geneva in 1712, Louise-Suzanne Vaudenet was the daughter of a banker from whom she inherited her estate at Pregny. In 1732 she married Abraham Gallatin, son of a patrician family of Geneva. They had one son and two daughters. The son Jean married Sophie Albertine Rolaz du Rosay, the mother of Albert Gallatin. Abraham Gallatin was a good man but not a successful merchant. The family became involved in serious financial difficulties, so in 1771 Madame Gallatin borrowed 8,000 pounds from Voltaire.

In 1758, M. Gallatin offered Voltaire an opportunity to purchase a collection of china which had belonged to M. de Bellegarde. Voltaire replied that he already had everything he needed, but that he would be glad to take several compotes and two soup spoons. This is the first of Voltaire's letters in the Society's Gallatin collection. During the next fifteen years, notes passed back and forth at frequent intervals. The Gallatin family came to all the plays, despite the edict of the Council, and both Madeleine Gallatin and Madame Gallatin-Rolaz took part in some of the performances.

There is no allusion in this correspondence to the battle which Voltaire was waging against superstition and intolerance. Calas and Sirven are not mentioned. Instead, we find a much more

personal and intimate picture of Voltaire. There are invitations to dinner and to the plays. He declares that his seats in the Saconnex temple are reserved for members of the Gallatin family and for no one else. When Madame Gallatin's aunt celebrated her hundredth birthday, Voltaire wrote a charming letter of congratulations, and later, when he and Madame Denis needed an extra bedroom for the Assizes, it was to Madame Gallatin that he turned to ask her to supply one. Many of the letters deal with problems relating to the vineyards, particularly to the date when the grapes should be gathered. Voltaire consulted Madame Gallatin about publishing the bans for the harvest, granted her the necessary authorization to pick the fruit at Pregny, or chided her gently if she was late in making her preparations.

As good neighbors have always enjoyed sharing the fruits of their gardens, Madame Gallatin took pleasure in keeping Voltaire supplied with figs. There were no fig trees at Les Délices, but he hoped to grow some at Ferney, so in 1761 he asked her permission for his gardener to take some cuttings. These were duly planted, but six years later he declared sadly that all of the trees had withered. She had the blessings of Heaven, while he was accurst like the fig tree in the Gospel. On one occasion, Madame Gallatin sent him a basket of fruit as a token of appreciation following the performance of one of his plays. In thanking her, Voltaire wrote that, so long as she was pleased, he "didn't give a fig for anyone else."

In 1759, the road from Tournay to Pregny needed repairs. Voltaire was willing to defray a part of the costs, but he required the authorization of M. de Brosses[1] as property owner. He asked Madame Gallatin to speak to M. de Brosses about the matter,

[1] Charles de Brosses (1709–1777), besides being an archaeologist, anthropologist, etymologist, writer of travels, and historian of note, was president of the parlement of Burgundy, which embraced Voltaire's domain within its jurisdiction. Voltaire's later difficulties with de Brosses, who was "the superior landlord of part of his estate," over a woodpile, led to "La Querelle de Voltaire et du président de Brosses" which Cunisset-Carnot relates in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of February 15, 1888. As an aftermath, when de Brosses in 1770 "presented himself at the French Academy, his candidature was rejected owing to Voltaire's opposition on personal grounds." See also Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, Vol. VII.

and later he wrote to her again with regard to obtaining funds from the Republic of Geneva.

Voltaire was delighted to supply Madame Gallatin with gravel for her road, but he encountered difficulties with his quarry at Tournay. After Gabriel Grenier abused his permission to take stones, and persisted in transporting cartloads of them along the little side road leading to Pregny, Voltaire wrote that he had withdrawn the permission and intended to prosecute him for the damage. This did not settle the matter, however, for Voltaire had turned the Tournay quarry over to a mason named Guillot, who had sold his rights to a fellow named Monpitan. As Monpitan was damaging the roads, M. Cramer issued a writ against him in Voltaire's name, but Voltaire protested, saying that it was impossible to deprive Monpitan of a privilege which was legally his.

In the *Histoire de Jenni*, 1775, Voltaire wrote: "I have about 80 mouths to feed. My barn is three leagues from the nearest city; sometimes I have to buy wheat because my fields are not so fertile as those in Egypt." Voltaire may have been thinking about the famine of 1771, during which he and Madame Denis sought the aid of M. Gallatin who, in his official capacity as Treasurer of the Wheat Hall, was able to purchase the flour they needed at Ferney. Six letters are devoted to this subject. We learn that flour was then priced at seven Genevan cents a pound. M. Gallatin had it delivered to Pregny where Voltaire's servants collected it and paid M. Bontemps' bill.

Some of the letters refer to the Landgrave Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, who was a nephew of the King of Sweden. Madame Gallatin became acquainted with him when, as a child, he spent some time in Geneva, then Voltaire met him at the Prussian Court in 1743. The Prince was anxious to obtain Voltaire's books for his library, so Madame Gallatin asked where they might be procured. In March 1768, Voltaire sent her the name and address of a bookseller in Geneva who sold his pamphlets "under the counter to worthy people" whom he could trust. Then he en-

closed a note which he said would serve as a passport for the purchaser when he went to see M. Grasset.

On another occasion Voltaire wrote that, as he had no copyist, he was sending Madame Gallatin the only clean copy he had left of a manuscript. In a third letter he assured her he was happy to supply the Prince with his *Princesse de Babilone*. The novels requested by the Landgrave were printed in Holland and hard to find in Geneva. Voltaire promised to try to get them, but he said it would take some time.

Madame Gallatin asked the Prince to send Voltaire some asparagus for his garden. On February 15, 1772, Voltaire wrote the Landgrave that he was delighted with this fine gift which assured him three additional years of life, "for it will take three years to grow the fine asparagus you are presenting to me."

At various times Madame Gallatin sought Voltaire's aid on behalf of her protégés. In his gallant and courteous fashion, Voltaire assured her that he would do everything in his power to assist them, but twice he protested that he lacked the political influence necessary to obtain favors at the Courts of Spain and Russia.

Voltaire always alleged his poor health as an excuse for something he did not wish to do.[5] From infancy he was afflicted by a variety of ailments, of which he was prone to exaggerate the gravity, yet his tremendous intellectual activity never slackened. He resembled Molière in believing that he had the vitality necessary to withstand the disease but not to combat the remedies. Accordingly he frequently scorned the prescriptions of Dr. Tronchin. He ate very lightly, a diet consisting of lentils, a little

[5] A typical example is related by a young American from Charleston, S. C., in a letter dated Geneva, August 22, 1774, in which he says: "Mr. Lee and I, this morning, attempted a visit to Voltaire. We were admitted no farther than his courtyard, and, upon sending in our names, the servant brought this answer: '*Par Dieu Je suis malade.*' We were taught to expect this, before we went. His age and infirmities make him peevish, and the intrusion of many stupid, young travelling Englishmen, who have visited him, as strangers do the lions, in the tower, has given him such a disinclination to company, that it is very difficult to get admittance to him."—*Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina . . .* (New York: 1844), 14. [Copy at NYHS].

mutton, milk and eggs. He was very fond of coffee, liked good wine and had a glass of Burgundy every day.

Voltaire rather liked the title "the sick old man of Ferney." He uses it occasionally in speaking of himself, and we can detect a somewhat peevish note in one letter. Madame Gallatin has evidently made some remark about his apparent good health, and he retorts: "You compliment me on my health. I am 74 years old, and I am very sick." Again he writes: "I am in bed, Madame, and M. Micaut pays me too high a compliment when he states that I am in good health."

Usually, however, the tone is one of charming courtesy. After a carriage accident which delayed Voltaire's return to Ferney, he apologized saying: "We had every conceivable kind of misfortune; life is full of them, but the worst is not to have had the honor of having supper with you." Again he writes: "When Voltaire calls at his neighbor's house, he has no other business, no other desire, than to pay homage to her."

In 1768 he declared: "There is nothing like old friends." It is interesting to note that this letter was written during the period of eighteen months which Madame Denis spent in Paris following a quarrel with her uncle. Ferney was very quiet without her. In the same letter he reveals his fondness for animals. "I have some horses which are 30 years old and that is why I love them." The menagerie at Ferney included a roe deer which Voltaire fed every day, a donkey that wandered all over the grounds, a caged eagle and the monkey called Luke. This mischievous pet delighted in changing the position of the chessmen when nobody was looking, and one day it bit Voltaire's leg in three places so that for a time he had to walk on crutches.

Voltaire loved children and was never too busy to answer their questions. James Gallatin, son of Albert Gallatin, describes in his *Diary* the visits which his father, as a small boy, frequently paid to Ferney with his grandmother. Albert Gallatin never forgot the advice given him by Voltaire: "When I was older, he impressed upon me always to be charitable in thought and action,

to benefit my fellow-creatures as much as was within my power, always to speak the truth, and never to be afraid to give my opinion."[6]

The pattern of Voltaire's life at Ferney followed the same precepts he sought to inculcate in his youthful visitor. Although at times he became embroiled in lawsuits involving petty sums, he was exceedingly generous to his niece, to Marie Corneille, and to a host of others, while every peasant who stopped at the door received both food and money.

From 1760 until his death, he worked constantly to obtain social and legal reforms in France. Voltaire believed in commerce as a means of preventing war; consequently he wanted to benefit the middle class, and he attacked the ancient privileges which exempted the monastic orders and the nobility from direct taxation. He devised no revolutionary philosophical system but, as a realist, took the ancient social order and strove to reform it. His goal was liberty in politics, religion, philosophy, and the press. His weapon was the pen, barbed with perpetual irony.

After 1760 Voltaire wrote no long books but a great many pamphlets, which were all devoted to propaganda. These were inexpensive to print and, in the absence of a free press, far easier to circulate than large volumes. Most of the reforms for which he fought have long since been achieved, but Voltaire led the way in preaching a fearless crusade for liberty and tolerance.

The letters to Madame Gallatin cease in 1772, except for the yearly receipts attesting the payment of interest on the loan. The last of these was written by Wagnière in 1778. Both Voltaire and Madame Gallatin had been ill, so for months at a time they were unable to exchange visits. When Voltaire went to Paris, however, Madame Gallatin wrote the Landgrave about this journey and how she was afraid that it might prove too great a strain on the health of their "grand ami." Her fears were justified, for Voltaire passed away in Paris on May 30, 1778. Madame

[6] *The Diary of James Gallatin, secretary of Albert Gallatin* (Scribner's, 1916), 60–61.

Gallatin outlived her three children, her daughter-in-law, and her husband. She died in 1792 at the age of eighty.

The 59 letters comprising the Gallatin collection of Voltaire correspondence are published here for the first time in their entirety. It is also the first time that they have been translated. Wherever dates are given, or so far as they can be assigned, the letters have been arranged in chronological order.

A Monsieur Galatin-Vaudenet

A Lausane, 2 mars, 1758

Monsieur,

Je vous suis tres obligé de l'attention que vous voulez bien avoir de me procurer la vaiselle de feu Monsieur de Bellegarde. Si je n'avais pas toutte la vaisselle qui m'est nécessaire je saisirais avec empressement cette occasion de m'accomoder de toutte celle que vous voulez bien me proposer. Mais sil vous restait les quatre compotiers, et deux ceuillers a potage je les prendrais pour faire plaisir a M de Gauffecour.

J'ay lhonneur detre Monsieur

Votre tres humble et tres obeisst serviteur Voltaire

Gentilhome ordinaire du roy

To M. Gallatin-Vaudenet

Lausanne, March 2, 1758

Dear Sir:

I am very grateful for your kind offer to obtain the china and silver of the late M. de Bellegarde for me. If I did not have everything necessary for my needs, I should take immediate advantage of this opportunity to acquire the whole collection. However, if you still have the four compotes and two soup spoons, I should be glad to purchase them to please M. de Gauffecour.

I have the honor of being

Your very humble and obedient servant, Voltaire

Gentleman-in-Ordinary of the Chamber

Aux Délices
16 janvier 1759

Monsieur le président de Brosses répond a la proposition des mille livres pour le chemin de Prégni par ce vers du légataire universel, *comment donc mille francs! quinze ou vinge ecus passe*. Madame Galatin obtiendra peutetre une reponse plus libérale. Je vais ecrire pour 500

Délices
January 16, 1759

The President de Brosses replies to my proposition concerning the thousand pounds for the Pregny road by this line from *Le Légataire universel* "Why a thousand francs! Fifteen or twenty crowns would be adequate." Possibly Madame Gallatin will obtain a more liberal

[7] A comedy in verse by Regnard which was first produced in 1708.

livres. Je me chargeray dailleurs de tout le chemin depuis les crets de la republique jusqu'au chatau ou mazure de Tournai. Je presente mes respects à M. et Mme. Galatin. Je suis a leurs ordres pour ma vie.

Voltaire

reply. I shall subscribe for 500 pounds. Moreover, I shall pay for the road all the way from Les Crêts of the Republic to the Castle or Mazure at Tournay.[8] I present my compliments to M. and Mme. Gallatin. I am at their orders as long as I live.

Voltaire

Aux Délices
17 janvier, 1759

Il faut vous mettre au fait Madame. Ce n'est point du tout l'argent de M. de Brosses dont il s'agit, cest le mien. C'est moy et non luy, qui donnerai les 500 livres, mais il faut qu'il y consente par les conventions faittes entre nous. Je serais étonné et affligé s'il ne se prétait a un ouvrage si necessaire. Il ne débourse rien, cest moy seul qui paye, vous pouvez Madame luy écrire en conformité. Je vous en supplie meme et je ne doute pas qu'il ne se rende a vous justes representations puis qu'elles ont pour objet le bien public. Je vous presente mon respect aussi bien qu'a M. Galatin.

V.

Délices
January 17, 1759

I must acquaint you with the facts, Madame. This does not concern M. de Brosse's money at all, but mine. It is I and not he who will contribute the 500 pounds, but he must consent because of the agreements between us. I should be astonished and hurt if he did not lend his support to such a necessary undertaking. He will not spend anything, while I alone shall pay. You may write him this, Madame. In fact, I beg of you to do so, and I have no doubt that he will accede to your just remonstrances because they are for the common weal. I send you and M. Gallatin my respectful salutations.

V.

1759

Avec 500 L. que ferons nous ma chere et respectable voisine? Puis qu'avec mille livres nous n'aurions pas notre compte. Je men remets a vos lumieres, a votre credit, et a la bourse de la republique. Je suis a vos ordres avec le plus tendre respect. V.

1759

My dear and worthy neighbor, what shall we do with 500 pounds? A thousand pounds would not be adequate. I leave it to your wisdom, your credit and the treasury of the Republic.

I am at your service with fond and respectful salutations. V.

[8] Les Crêts is a section between Pregny and Tournay on the road to Versoix. Voltaire was very much interested in the latter village and hoped to build it up as a center to rival Geneva. This may be one reason why he wished to repair the road between the two villages.

Aux Délices
9 février, 1759

Je viendrai Madame des que je le pourai recevoir la benédiction de votre incomparable tante. Il est vray qu'on peut ne se pas presser. La maniere dont elle pense, dont elle sent, et dont elle sexprime fait juger quelle jouira longtemps de sa jeunesse centainaire. Il ne luy manque que d'etre enlevee comme Sara qui le fut a peu pres a son age. Nous avons dans mon petit hermitage une fille qui a aussi cent ans mais je ne ferai jamais de vers pour elle. Je veux en faire pour vous ma chere et respectable voisine quand vous aurez lage de votre tante. Ne m'oubliez pas quand vous écrirez a Gauffecour. Je desespere du président. J'espere que dans un an nous pourons marcher sans ses lisieres. Baisez pour moy la main de l'incomparable. Mille tres humbles obeissances a M. Galatin.

V.

Délices
February 9, 1759

I shall come, Madame, as soon as I can, to receive the blessing of your incomparable aunt. It is true that there is no hurry. Her manner of thinking, feeling and expressing herself makes me believe that she will enjoy her century-old youth for a long time to come.[9] She only needs to be kidnapped as Sara was at about the same age.

In my little hermitage we have a girl who is also a hundred years old, but I shall never write any poetry for her. I want to compose some for you, my dear and worthy neighbor, when you have reached the age of your aunt.

Don't forget me when you write to Gauffecour. I despair of the President. I hope that in a year's time we shall no longer require his services.

Kiss the Incomparable's hand for me. My very humble greetings to M. Gallatin.

V.

Aux Délices sur St. Jean
le juin, 1759

Monsieur Galatin-Vaudenet voulant bien se servir des places que j'ay au temple de Saconay, je déclare que je nay donné ce droit qu'a luy et a sa famille.

Voltaire

Délices on St. Jean [Hill]
June 1, 1759

As M. Gallatin-Vaudenet wishes to use my seats in the Sacconex temple, I declare that I have granted this permission to him and to his family and to no one else.

Voltaire

Des Délices
1759

Vos figues Madame sont un présent d'autant plus beau, que

Délices
1759

Your figs, Madame, are an even finer gift since we can say, as He

[9] Madame Lullin, the great-aunt of Madame Gallatin, was a hundred years old on January 20, 1759, and Voltaire wrote some verses in honor of the occasion. She lived to be 103.

nous pouvons dire comme l'autre, *car ce n'etait pas le temps des figues*. Nous nen avons point aux Délices, mais nous aurons un teatre a Tournay, et nous partons dans une heure pour venir vous voir. Recevez vous et toutte votre famille Madame les tendres respects de V.

did, *for it was not the season of figs*.

We don't have any at Délices, but we shall have a play at Tournay, and we are leaving in an hour to come and see you.

Kindly accept for yourself and your whole family the fond greetings of V.

1759

Vous me donnez plus de figues madame qu'il n'y en a dans le pays de papimanie et moy madame je suis comme le figuier de lévangile, Sec et maudit. Ce n'est pas comme acteur, c'est comme tres attaché à toutte votre famille que je m'intéresse bien vivement a la santé de Mme Galatin Rolaz. Nous repetons mardy en habits pontificaux, ceus qui ont des billets viendront s'ils veulent. Je suis a vous madame pour ma vie. V.

1759

Madame, you are giving me more figs than there are in the land of popery,[20] and I, Madame, I am dry and accurst like the fig tree in the Gospel.

It is not as an actor, but because I am deeply attached to your whole family, that I am keenly interested in the health of Mme. Gallatin-Rolaz. We are going to rehearse in our pontifical costumes Tuesday. People who have tickets may come if they wish. I am yours, Madame, as long as I live. V.

1759

Vous nous accablez de presents ma chère voisine, que ne mangez vous vos figues avec nous! Nous vous remercions et nous vous regrettons. Quand pourons nous vous donner la comedie pour vos figues?

1759

You are overwhelming us with presents, my dear neighbor. Why don't you eat your figs with us? We thank you and we miss you. When may we give you a play for your figs?

1759

J'avais deja vu vos figues madame avant d'avoir vu votre billet que s'est longtemps egaré parmy des habits de teatre. Nos plaisirs ont nui a mes devoirs. Celuy de vous marquer tout mon respectueux empressement me sera toujours bien cher. Allons, encourageons

1759

I had already seen your figs, Madame, before I found your note, which was mislaid for a long time among some theatrical costumes. Our pleasures have kept me from my duties. One which I shall always cherish is the expression of my respectful devotion. Come, let's

[20] France. Madame Gallatin's estate, Pregny, was in Switzerland.

celle de vos filles qui a du talent pour notre petit tripot. Cest a elle a embellir les fetes de tournay. V.

Des Délices
8 octobre, 1759

Comment se porte notre malade, notre chere voisine, notre chère fille?

Jay eté aux vignes madame. Les guepes mangent tout, et ce quils ne mangent point est tout sec. Le vigneron de madame du Tremblay est venu me faire des representations. Mes tonnaux ne sont pas reliez a t'il dit. Differez vendange. Relie tes tonnaux ai-je dit. Vos raisins ne sont pas murs a t'il dit. Va les voir ai-je dit. Il y a eté, il a vu. Vendangez au plus vite a t'il dit. Qu'ordonnez vous madame au voisin V?

8 octobre, 1759

Eh mon Dieu Madame tout le monde est venu crier que les guepes mangeaient tout et quil fallait vendanger. Je croiois exécuter vos ordres. Je viendray demain lundy matin les recevoir a Pregni. En attendant voulez vous bien ordonner qu'on ne fasse rien avant que vous soyez convenue avec moy de ce qu'il faut faire.

Mille respects
V.

Dimanche aux Délices

Des Délices

Lors que V. se presente chez sa voisine il n'a d'autre affaire, d'autre

encourage that daughter of yours who has some talent for our little playhouse. It will be her task to grace the festivals at Tournay. V.

Délices
October 8, 1759

How is our patient, our dear neighbor, our dear daughter [Madame Gallatin-Rolaz]?

I have been in the vineyards, Madame. The wasps are eating everything, and what they don't devour is all dried up. Madame du Tremblay's vine-dresser came to remonstrate with me. He said: "My casks are not hooped. Put off the harvest." "Hoop your casks," I told him. "Your grapes are not ripe," he said. "Go see them," I said. He went and looked at them. "Harvest as quickly as you can," he said. What are your orders, Madame, for your neighbor, V?

October 8, 1759

Why, Madame, everybody came to me crying that the wasps were devouring all the fruit and that we must gather the grapes. I thought I was obeying your orders. I shall come Monday morning to receive them at Pregny. In the meantime, please say that nothing must be done until you and I agree about what we want.

Respectful greetings
V.

Sunday at Délices

Délices

When V. calls at his neighbor's house, he has no other business, no

but, que de lui faire sa cour. Nous attendons pour faire des répétitions le retour du Tyran qui a mal à la poitrine. S'il y a quelques nouvelles de Berlin, Monsieur Gallatin est supplié d'en faire part. Mille respects.

Aux Délices
1760

Quil est doux de recevoir vos figues madame! Quil est triste de ne les pas manger avec vous! Si vous avez eté contente hier nous faisons la figue à tout le monde.

Madame Denis vous est bien obligée nôtre très chère voisine. Sa maladie n'est qu'un mal de dents; je ne vois pas ce que je pourais faire pour vôtre prtégé, je serais fort aise de lui procurer quelque place, je voudrais que personne ne succèdat à celle qu'on lui a ôtée, nous avons beaucoup trop de commis et pas assez de laboureurs. Je m'interesse au pais de gex, et je crois que de toutes les provinces de France, c'est sans contredit la plus mal gouvernée; j'ai grande impatience, ma chère voisine, de vous presenter mes respects ce printemps dans ma petite retraitte de Tourney, qui deviendra assez agréable, mais moins par les embèllissements que j'y fais que par vôtre voisinage.

V.

1761

Monsieur, Madame

M. et Mme de Villeneuve souperont icy. Je ne sais pas encor ce

other desire, than to pay homage to her. We have postponed our rehearsals until the Tyrant recovers from a pain in his chest and can come back. If there is any news from Berlin, we beg M. Gallatin to let us hear it. Respectful greetings.

Délices
1760

How nice it is to receive your figs, Madame![11] But it is sad not to eat them with you. If you were pleased yesterday, we don't give a fig for anyone else.

Madame Denis is much obliged to you, our very dear neighbor. She is only suffering from a toothache.

I don't know what I could do for your protégé, although I should be happy to find a position for him. I wish that they wouldn't put anyone in the post from which he was dismissed. We have far too many clerks and not enough workmen. I am interested in the Gex region, but I believe that it has certainly the worst government of any one of the French provinces.

I am very anxious to present my respects to you, my dear neighbor, this spring in my little retreat at Tournay. It will be quite charming, partly due to the changes I am making, but chiefly because you are near by.

V.

1761

Monsieur, Madame

M. and Mme. de Villeneuve will dine here. I don't yet know what

[11] Madame Gallatin sent these to Voltaire after a performance of one of his plays.

quils feront demain. Faittes nous lhonneur de venir diner ou souper avec madame Galatine.

V t h ob sr V.

Il faut laisser vendanger Mme Galatin et M. le Colonel Pictet.

Quand vous naurez besoin ny du jardinier, ny des chevaux, vous me ferez plaisir de me les renvoyer.

Voltaire

[This is ilustrated below.]

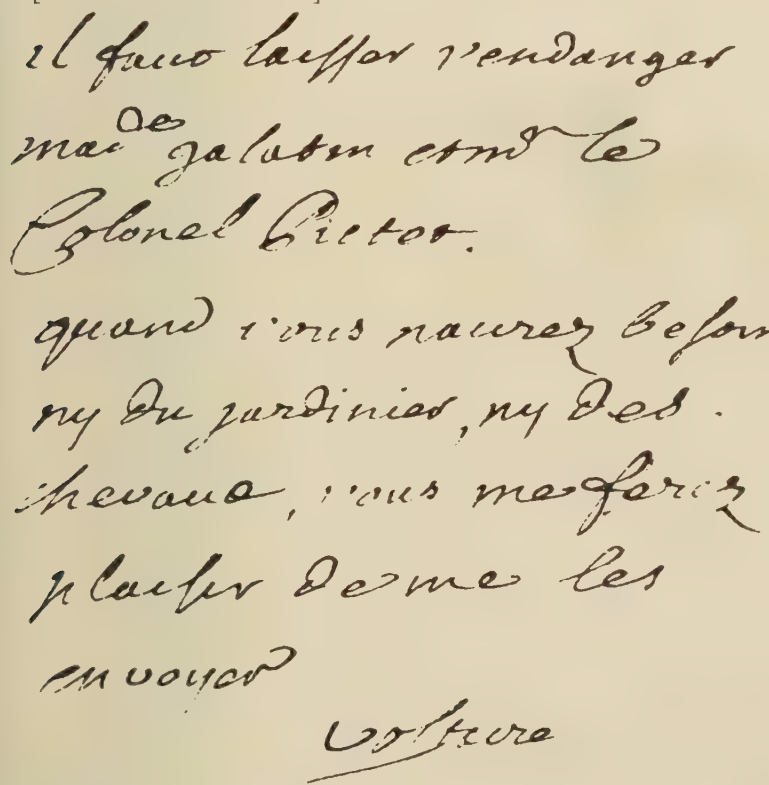
they will do tomorrow. Please do us the honor of coming for dinner or supper with Madame Gallatin.

Y v h ob sr. V.

Madame Gallatin and Colonel Pictet must be permitted to gather their grapes.

When you no longer need the gardener and the horses, kindly send them back to me.

Voltaire



VOLTAIRE'S WARRANT REQUIRED FOR MME. GALLATIN AND COL. PICTET TO HARVEST GRAPES AT PREGNY [1761]

Gallatin Archives, The New-York Historical Society

1761

Je voudrais madame me porter assez bien pour etre un de vos garçons vendangeurs. Je suis d'ailleurs entierement a vos ordres. Vraiment je vous serai tres obligé de permettre que mon jardinier prenne chez vous quelques rejettons de ces excellents figuiers. Il y a bien longtemps que nous navons eu lhonneur de manger avec luy les fruits de nos jardins.

Permettez que j'insere dans ce paquet une lettre pour Louis Corboz.

V t h ob S. V.

Pour trois personnes a la representation de Mahomet

Voltaire

2 septembre

Gabriel Grenier ayant abusé de la permission que je luy avais donnée de prendre des pierres dans ma carriere, et ayant malgré mes deffenses fait passer des charettes chargees de pierre par le petit chemin de Tourney a Pregni, je revoque la permission et je le poursuivray pour les dégats. fait a Ferney deux septembre

Voltaire

18e septembre, 1761

Nous comptions revenir tous souper à Ferney après la Comédie, Madame. M. le Duc de Villars nous retint, nôtre carosse se rempit, nous essuiâmes tous les contretemps possibles la vie en est semée; mais le plus grand de tous est de n'avoir pas eu l'honneur de souper avec vous

V.

1761

I wish, Madame, that I were well enough to be one of the men harvesting your grapes. However, I am entirely at your service.

I shall appreciate it very much if you will permit my gardener to take several shoots of those excellent fig trees from your garden. It is a long time since we have had the honor of eating with him the fruit of our gardens.

Allow me to put a letter for Louis Corboz in this package.

Y v h ob s. V.

[*On the Eight of Diamonds:*] For three persons at the performance of *Mahomet*

Voltaire

September 2

As Gabriel Grenier has abused the permission which I had given him to take stones from my quarry and has, in spite of my orders, transported carts loaded with stone along the little road from Tournay to Pregny, I withdraw the permission and I shall prosecute him for the damage.

Done at Ferney, September 2,

Voltaire

September 18, 1761

We all intended to return to Ferney for supper after the play, Madame. The Duke de Villars delayed us, our carriage broke down, we had every conceivable kind of misfortune; life is full of them, but the worst is not to have had the honor of having supper with you.

V.

[1762]

N'aiant pas de copiste, Madame, je vous envoie le seul manuscrit au net qui me reste. Si celà peut vous amuser et faire passer quelques moments agréables à nôtre prince, je n'aurai pas perdu mes peines.

Mille respects

A Ferney
12 janvier, 1765

M. de Voltaire presente ses respects à Madame Galatin. Elle est maîtresse de tout le gravier possible pour les chemins.

S t h ob sr Voltaire

Madame Denis et M. de Voltaire prient M et Madame Galatin et leur maison pour la comédie mardy 19 may 1767 à 5 heures.

Ferney
le 19 octobre, 1767

Voicy l'état des choses, Madame; Monpitan m'est venu trouver avec la copie d'un billet par lequel j'ai cédé à un maître masson nommé Guillot la carriére de Tournay pour ma vie. Il n'est point dit par ce billet, par quel chemin Guillot doit passer. Je lui ai toujours recommandé verbalement, et il m'a toujours promis de ne jamais passer par le petit chemin détourné que l'on a fait raccomoder, mais il n'y a nulle promesse par écrit.

Guillot à cédé son droit à Monpitan, et Monpitan en abuse. Je vois que je ne puis le réprimer, n'aiant point de titre contre lui. Si la cession dont il m'a montré la copie

[1762]

As I do not have a copyist, Madame, I am sending you the only clean manuscript I have left. If it amuses you and gives our Prince a few pleasant moments, my labors will not have been in vain.

Respectful greetings.

Ferney
January 12, 1765

M. de Voltaire presents his respects to Madame Gallatin. She may dispose of all the gravel she wishes for the roads.

Her very humbl. svt. Voltaire

[*On the King of Spades:*] Madame Denis and M. de Voltaire request M. and Madame Gallatin and the members of their household to come to the play Tuesday, May 19, 1767, at five o'clock.

Ferney
October 19, 1767

This is the situation, Madame; Monpitan came to see me with the copy of a note in which I turned the Tournay quarry over to a master mason named Guillot for my lifetime. This note contains no reference to the road which Guillot should take. I have always told him, and he always promised, never to go along the little side road which is being repaired, but there is no written agreement.

Guillot turned his rights over to Monpitan, and Monpitan is taking advantage of them. I realize that I can not stop him as I have no right to do so. If the transfer of which he showed me the copy is set forth

est énoncée telle qu'il me l'a fait voir, je n'ai d'autre recours contre lui que la voie de la représentation.

J'ai toujours cru que le chemin détourné qui conduit à vôtre maison, et à celle de M. Pallard, était interdit à tous les voituriers lesquels sont tenus de passer devant les bureaux. Je le crois encor; et je pense que la seule voie pour réprimer Monpitan, est de présenter requête à l'intendant. C'est surquoi il faudra consulter M. Fabri car vous sentez bien que je ne peux être juge dans ma propre cause.

Je vous prie, Madame, de communiquer ce billet à M. Cramer. Vous sentez bien que je suis prêt à faire tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour vous marquer mon respect et mon zèle.

V.

as he explained it to me, I have no other recourse against him except through the court.

I have always believed that the side road which leads to your house and to M. Paillard's was closed to all truckmen, who are supposed to undergo inspection at the offices. I still think this is true, and I believe that the only way to stop Monpitan will be to present a request to the Intendant. We shall have to consult M. Fabri about this, for you will realize that I can't act as judge for my own case.

Will you be so kind, Madame, as to give this letter to M. Cramer. You know that I stand ready to do everything in my power as a token of my respect and admiration for you.

V.

A Ferney
22 octobre, 1767

Vous vous y prenez bien tard, Madame, on dit qu'on a déjà publié dimanche à la messe de la paroisse les bancs de la vendange. J'aprends que mon fermier lui même a fait publier ces bancs de concert avec le curé et qu'on s'est même arrangé pour l'ordre qu'on doit tenir dans les quartiers des vignes. Comme j'avais laissé au fermier tous ces détails, il arriverait si je donnais à present des ordres contraires que l'on serait en droit de s'y oposer. Vous pouvez consulter sur celà le Sr. Balleidier procureur fiscal de la terre, et Nicod le chatelain. S'ils disent que je puis donner l'ordre contraire aux arrangements de mon fermier, je suis prêt à le signer.

Vous êtes bien persuadée, Ma-

Ferney
October 22, 1767

You are starting very late, Madame; they say that the bans for the harvest were published Sunday at the parish mass. I have learned that my farmer has himself published the bans with the priest, and that they have even made arrangements about the order which must be kept in the vineyards. As I had left all these details to the farmer, he would be justified in protesting, if I gave different orders now. You may consult M. Balleidier, my manager, and constable Nicod on this matter. If they say that I may countermand the arrangements made by my farmer, I am ready to sign the order.

You realize, Madame, that there is nothing I would not do to prove

dame, qu'il n'y a rien que je ne fasse pour vous prouver tous les sentiments avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être, Madame, vôtre très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Voltaire.

Jeudy au soir
le 17 décembre, 1767

Je suis obligé d'avertir Madame Gallatin et M. Cramer, que le nommé Monpitan me fait assigner, et me fait des frais pour la carriere. Il a le droit incontestable de l'exploiter, et s'il a gâté les chemins, c'est aux bourgeois du lieu à s'en plaindre, et à l'obliger par justice à les réparer.

On a commis une très grande irrégularité en assignant en mon nom Monpitan sans m'en avertir. C'est un procez que je ne puis soutenir. On me fait plaider contre ma propre signature, celà est fort triste. Je ne puis ôter à Monpitan ce qui lui apartient; me voilà forcé de plaider contre cet homme à Gex, et peut être à Dijon.

Ce qu'il y a de pis c'est qu'il faut que je désavoue l'assignation donnée en mon nom à ce Monpitan.

Madame Galatin et Monsieur Cramer ne s'étaient plaints que de ce qu'il gâtait les chemins, et il se trouve par mon assignation donnée à mon insçu que je veux lui ôter son bien.

Il est absolument nécessaire que Monsieur Cramer veuille bien venir pour s'entendre avec moi sur cette affaire très désagréable.

J'ai l'honneur d'être son très humble et très obéissant serviteur, Voltaire.

to you the attachment with which I have the honor of being, Madame, your very humble and very obedient servant, Voltaire.

Thursday Evening
December 17, 1767

I am obliged to inform Madame Gallatin and M. Cramer that the man Monpitan is having a writ issued against me and is causing me some expense in connection with the quarry. It is his right to exploit it, and, if he has damaged the roads, it is up to the local residents to complain and to force him through legal means to make repairs.

It was extremely improper to issue a writ against Monpitan in my name without notifying me. I cannot countenance this suit. I am forced to plead against my own signature which is very sad. I cannot take from Monpitan what belongs to him, yet I am forced to plead against this man at Gex and perhaps at Dijon.

What is worse is that I have to deny the summons which was given to Monpitan in my name.

Madame Gallatin and M. Cramer had only complained of the fact that he was damaging the roads, and it appears from this summons, given without my knowledge, that I want to deprive him of his property.

M. Cramer must come to discuss this very disagreeable matter with me.[12]

I have the honor of being his very humble and very obedient servant, Voltaire.

[12] This letter is really intended for Cramer who issued the summons.

16e janvier: Ferney

Je suis dans mon lit, Madame, et M. Micaut me fait trop d'honneur, de croire que je me porte bien. Je suis à vos ordres autant que je peux, et avec bien de l'empressement et du respect.

Voltaire

January 16, Ferney

I am in bed, Madame, and M. Micaut pays me too high a compliment when he states that I am in good health. I am at your service, in so far as I am able, and send my respectful greetings.

Voltaire

le 22 mars, 1768

Je vous envoie, Madame, tout ce que j'ai. Si vôtre aimable prince veut se faire une petite bibliotèque de tous les rogatons nouveaux sur ces matières, il faut qu'il fasse donner ordre à Marc Michel Rey Libraire à Amsterdam, de faire tenir à Cassel à un homme de confiance, tout ce qui a été imprimé depuis un an ou dix huit mois.

On m'a dit qu'il y a dans Genève un nommé Grasset, rue Verdaine, dont il faut taire le nom, qui vend en secret quelques unes de ces brochures aux honnêtes gens par lesquels il est sur de n'être pas compromis. Voicy un petit billet qui servira de passeport à celui qui voudra acheter.

Mille respects.

V.

March 22, 1768

I am sending you, Madame, everything I have. If your gracious Prince wants to make a little library out of all the latest odds and ends, tell him to order Mark Michel Rey, the bookseller in Amsterdam, to send a reliable man in Cassel everything which has been printed during the past year or year and a half.

I have heard that in Geneva, rue Verdaine, there is a man called Grasset[13] whose name must not be revealed. He sells some of these pamphlets under the counter to worthy people whom he can trust. I am enclosing a little note which will serve as a passport for the purchaser.

Respectful greetings.

V.

22 mars, 1768

Grasset, rue Verdaine

Vous pouvez vendre en toute sureté au porteur ce qu'il vous demandera.

Sans doute, Madame, ne sui-je pas toujours a vos ordres?

V.

March 22, 1768

Grasset, Verdaine Street

It will be perfectly safe for you to sell the bearer what he wants.[14]

[*On the Three of Diamonds:*]

Without doubt, Madame, for am I not always at your command?[15]

V.

[13] Voltaire knew him well.

[14] For the Prince.

[15] This was a ticket for a play.

Ma chere voisine j ay deux princesses de Babilone, je les céderai volontiers. Je nay aucun des autres romans quon demande. Ils sont imprimez en hollande, et je les ferai chercher a genève, mais ils sont tres rares, et il faudra du temps. Je tacheray de vous faire une pacotille. Mes respects je vous en prie au tres aimable prince. Je suis faché de mourir sans lui faire ma cour. Vous me faites compliment sur ma santé. Jay 74 et je suis tres malade.

V t h o b s V.

My dear neighbor:

I have two copies of the *Princesse de Babilone*, and I shall be glad to let you have them. I don't have any of the other books which are wanted.[16] They are printed in Holland. I shall hunt for them in Geneva, but they are very rare and it will take some time. I shall try to make up a little package of them for you. Please give my respectful greetings to the very kind Prince. I am sorry to die without being able to pay homage to him.

You compliment me on my health. I am 74 years old and I am very sick.

Y v h o b s V.

A deux heures précises.

Mille respects

V[17]

[*On the Six of Hearts:*]
Promptly at two o'clock.

Respectful greetings.

V.

Madame

Etant privé depuis huit jours d'un de mes copistes, je n'ai pu encor vous obéir.

On me dit dans le moment que cette sotise court imprimée à Genêve. J'en doute fort. Je m'en informerai, et vous l'aurez soit imprimée, soit manuscrite. Je vous prie de compter, Madame, sur mon respectueux attachement.

Madame

For the past week I have been deprived of one of my copyists, so I have not as yet been able to obey your command.

They tell me that this nonsense has got into print and that it is now going the rounds of Geneva. Frankly, I doubt it. However, I shall make inquiries, and you will receive either a printed or manuscript copy.[18]

My affectionate respects.

10 Auguste[19] 1768 à Ferney

Vous etes bénie de Dieu, Madame. Il y a six ans que je plante des figuiers et pas un ne réussit. Ce

August 10, 1768, at Ferney

You are blessed by Heaven, Madame. For six years I have been planting fig trees, and not a single

[16] For the Prince.
[17] This was a ticket for a play.
[18] Madame Gallatin had requested this for the Prince.

serait bien là le cas de sécher mes figuiers, mais si j'avais des miracles à faire ce ne serait pas celui là. Je me borne à vous remercier, Madame. Je crois qu'il n'y a que les vieux figuiers qui donnent. La vieillesse est encor bonne à quelque chose.

J'ai comme vous des chevaux de trente ans, c'est ce qui fait que je les aime. Il n'y a rien de tel que les vieux amis. Les jeunes pourtant ne sont pas à mépriser Mesdames.

V.

20 janvier, 1771

Le vieux malade de Ferney remercie Madame Galatin de ses bontés; il ne perd point de vue l'affaire de sa protègée. Elle est un peu difficile. Il lui presente ses respects et à toute sa famille.

Mme Denis prie instamment Monsieur Galatin, de vouloir bien lui procurer mille livres de farine à sept sous de Genève la livre. Elle est très sensible à l'offre qu'il lui a fait, et l'assure de ses très humbles obéissances.

12 avril 1771, à Ferney[20]

Ferney
2 juillet, 1771

M. de Voltaire et Mme Denis font bien leurs compliments à Monsieur et à Madame Galatin. Ils les suplient de vouloir bien leur

one will grow. Now would be the time to dry up my fig trees, but if I had to perform miracles, I should not choose that one. I shall merely express my appreciation to you, Madame. I believe that only the old trees bear fruit. Old age is still good for something.

Like you, I have some horses which are thirty years old, and that is why I love them. There is nothing like old friends. But young ones should not be scorned, my ladies.

V.

January 20, 1771

The sick old man at Ferney thanks Madame Gallatin for her kindness. He has not forgotten about her protégée, but the problem is a rather difficult one. He sends his respectful greetings to her and to the whole family.

Madame Denis earnestly begs M. Gallatin to be so kind as to procure for her a thousand pounds of flour at seven Genevan cents a pound. She deeply appreciates his offer and sends him her respectful greetings.

April 12, 1771, at Ferney

Ferney
July 2, 1771

M. de Voltaire and Madame Denis send their greetings to M. and Madame Gallatin. They would like very much to obtain forty-five

[19] Voltaire thought that the month should be spelled in accordance with the original name from which it was derived.
[20] Unpublished.

faire avoir une vingtaine de coupes de bled ou de farine qu'ils enverront chercher à Tourney; ils leur seront infiniment obligés.[21]

bushels of wheat or flour which they will send for at Tournay. They will be very grateful.

1771

M. de Voltaire et Mme Denis remercient infiniment Monsieur et Madame Galatin de leurs bontés. On enverra demain à Pregny. On a donné au domestique sept sacs lesquels contiendront aisément mille livres.

Bien des respects, V.[22]

1771

M. de Voltaire and Mme. Denis are deeply grateful to M. and Mme. Gallatin for their kindness. We shall send a servant to Pregny tomorrow, and we have given him seven bags which will be more than adequate to hold a thousand pounds.

All good wishes, V.

1771

M. de Voltaire et Mme Denis font bien des compliments à Monsieur Galatin, et bien des remerciements. Voicy un billet sur M. Bontems.[23]

1771

M. de Voltaire and Madame Denis send their greetings and grateful thanks to M. Gallatin. Here is a note for M. Bontemps.

1771

Mme Denis remercie très sensiblement Monsieur et Madame Galatin. Elle croit que Monsieur Galatin peut aisément obtenir la permission de faire voiturer deux ou trois milliers de farine à Prégny pour son usage; elle l'achêtera et la paiera comptant.[24]

1771

Madame Denis sends her cordial thanks to Monsieur and Madame Gallatin. She believes that Monsieur Gallatin can easily obtain permission to have two or three thousand pounds of flour hauled to Prégny for her use. She will purchase it and pay cash.

1771

Mille remerciements. Nous ne pouvons savoir qu'après demain si nous avons besoin de cette farine. Nous prions Madame Galatin Vaudenet de nous conserver ses bontés.

1771

A thousand thanks. We can't tell until day after tomorrow whether we shall need this flour. We beg Madame Gallatin to continue her kind deeds for us.

[21] Unpublished.
[22] Unpublished.
[23] Unpublished. M. Bontemps had supplied the flour.
[24] Unpublished.

le 4 Auguste, 1771, à Ferney

Je ferai assurément ce que je pourai, Madame, mais je vous assure qu'on est d'une difficulté extrême dans les bureaux de M. de Comte de Panin. On n'y admet personne sans avoir pris auparavant les plus amples informations. Celà demande un tems très long. Je voudrais de tout mon coeur servir plus promptement M. de Gorani, mais dans les maladies dont je suis accablé, je suis devenu tout à fait inutile.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect, Madame, votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur.

V.

[Monsieur Gallatin:]

Hier une longue journée sans vous voir un moment mon cher ami. J'espère qu'il n'en sera pas de même de celle ci. Votre fils me dit que vous êtes invités chez ma cousine Lise mais voyez la un moment; puis, ou avant, venez voir vos meilleures amies. J'ai anoncé votre visite à la bonne Dame Le Fort Bonet qui désire de vous voir.

Faittes me dire quelle portion de la soirée v nous destines.

J'ai à coeur de vous faire voir à M. Ferrière un de nos amis qui désire fort de vous connaître. Parlez de lui à Madame De Budée. Elle vous dira son mérite. Au vrai plaisir de vous voir.

Mme D.[25]

August 4, 1771, at Ferney

I shall certainly do everything in my power, Madame, but I can assure you that the staff in Count de Panin's office is very difficult to deal with. No one is admitted until a thorough investigation has been made. That requires a great deal of time. I should be delighted to be of more immediate assistance to M. de Gorani, but I am suffering from so many ailments that I have become completely useless.

I remain your very humble and very obedient servant.

V.

[Dear M. Gallatin:]

Yesterday was a long day for I did not see my dear friend for even a moment. I hope that today will not be another like it. Your son tells me that you are invited to go to the home of my cousin Lise. Visit with her for a minute; then, either before or afterwards, come to see your best friends. I have announced your call to the worthy Madame Le Fort Bonet who is anxious to see you.

Let me know what part of the evening you will spend with us.

I should like to present you to M. Ferrière, one of our friends who is eager to meet you. Ask Madame De Budée about him. She will tell you what a fine man he is.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you.

Madame D.

[25] Unpublished. This note, on a Three of Hearts, was apparently written for Madame Denis by Voltaire.

14 auguste, 1771

Le vieil aveugle de Ferney est bien malade. Il doute fort qu'il ait assez de crédit dans les circonstances presentes pour obtenir ce que demande Madame Galatin. Il fera certainement tout ce qu'il poura, mais ce qu'il peut est bien peu de chose. La cour où elle veut qu'on s'adresse est devenue plus difficile qu'on ne pense.

Il presente ses respects à Madame Galatin.

August 14, 1771

The blind old man at Ferney is very sick. He is very doubtful whether in the present circumstances he has sufficient credit to obtain what Madame Gallatin wants.[26] He will certainly do everything in his power, but he can accomplish little. The Court to which she wants him to write has become more difficult than she realizes.

He sends his greetings to Madame Gallatin.

1771

Le pauvre malade remercie bien tendrement madame Galatin. Il a parlé il a ecrit pour cette pauvre barbier. Il faut tacher de lui épargner l'amande. Cest à quoy nous esperons parvenir.

Mille respects

1771

The poor sick man thanks Madame Gallatin very affectionately. He has both spoken and written on behalf of this unfortunate barber. We must try to save him from a fine, and that is what I hope to accomplish.

Respectful greetings.

A Fernex 21 octobre 1771

Madame Denis et Monsieur de Voltaire font mille remercimens à Madame Galatin, et sont tres sensibles à l'honneur de son souvenir. On n'a point encor de nouvelles du nord; des qu'elles seront arrivées, on en fera part à Madame Galatin.[27]

Ferney, October 21 1771

Madame Denis and M. de Voltaire send their thanks to Madame Gallatin, and they deeply appreciate her thought of them. As yet we have not received any news from the north; as soon as it arrives, we shall communicate with Madame Gallatin.

Ferney[28]
le 15e février, 1772

Monseigneur

Madame Gallatin m'a fait voir la lettre où Votre Altesse Sérénissime montre toute sa sagesse, sa bonté et

Ferney
February 15, 1772

To the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel

My Lord,

Madame Gallatin showed me the letter in which Your Highness re-

[26] Madame Gallatin thought that Voltaire might obtain help for her protégé Gorani at the Russian Court.

[27] Unpublished.

[28] Contemporary copy.

son goût en parlant d'un jeune homme dont la raison est un peu égarée.

Je vois que dans cette lêttre elle m'accorde un bien fait très signalé qu'on doit rarement attendre des Princes, et même des médecins. Elle me donne un brevet de trois ans de vie, car il faut trois ans pour faire venir ces belles asperges dont vous me gratifiez.

Agréez, Monseigneur, mes très humbles remerciements. J'ose esperer de vous les renouveller dans trois années; car enfin il faut bien que je me nourisse d'espérance avant que de l'être de vos asperges. Que ne puis-je être en état de venir vous demander la permission de manger celles de vos jardins.

La belle révolution de Suede operée avec tant de fermeté et de prudence par le Roi vôtre parent, donne envie de vivre. Ce Prince est comme vous, il se fait aimer de ses sujets. C'est assurément de toutes les ambitions la plus belle, tout le reste à je ne sais quoi de chimérique et souvent de très funeste.

Je souhaite à Votre Altesse Sérénissime de longues années; c'est le seul souhait que je puisse faire, vous avez tout le reste.

Je suis avec le plus profond
respect
Monseigneur
De Votre Altesse Sérénissime
Le très humble et très obéissant
serviteur
Le vieux malade de Ferney

Voltaire.

veals all his wisdom, kindness and good taste in speaking of a young man who has lost his wits.[29]

I see from this letter that Your Highness is endowing me with a very remarkable gift, one which we seldom expect to receive from Princes, or even from doctors. It is a patent assuring three years of life, for it will take three years to grow the fine asparagus which you are presenting to me.

Please accept, My Lord, my very humble thanks. I hope that I shall be able to renew them in three years time, for I must live on hope before I can enjoy your asparagus. How I wish that I were well enough to come and ask your permission to dine on the stalks which grow in your gardens.

The splendid revolution in Sweden, which was managed with so much firmness and prudence by your uncle, the King, makes me want to go on living. This Prince is like you, he makes himself beloved by his subjects. This is certainly the finest of all ambitions; all the others are deceptive and frequently pernicious as well.

I hope that Your Serene Highness will enjoy many years of life. It is the only wish that I can make, for you have everything else.

I am, My Lord, with the deepest respect, the very humble and obedient servant of Your Serene Highness,

The sick old man at Ferney,

Voltaire

[29] The Landgrave had given a position in his Academy to one of Madame Gallatin's protégés, Mallet du Pan. Several months later the young man read a paper

1772

M. de Voltaire et Mme. Denis remercient bien tendrement Madame Galatin et toute sa famille. Ils sont on ne peut plus sensibles aux attentions de Madame Galatin.

Madame Denis va beaucoup mieux, et M. Cabanis la trouve très bien pour son état. Pour M. de Voltaire sa santé n'est pas trop bonne.

Wagniere prie Madame Gallatin de recevoir les assurances de son respect.

1772

M. de Voltaire and Madame Denis send their affectionate greetings and grateful thanks to Madame Gallatin and all her family. They deeply appreciate Madame Gallatin's kindness.

Madame Denis is much better, and M. Cabanis thinks that she is getting along very well. As for M. de Voltaire, his health is not too good.

Wagnière sends his respectful greetings to Madame Gallatin.

1772

Le vieux malade présente ses respects a madame Galatin. Il n'a lhonneur de connaitre M. le comte d'Aranda que par lentremise et par les bontez de monsieur l'ambassadeur de France. Il n'est aucunement en relation avec ce premier ministre. Il se croirait trop heureux de servir M. de Gorani, mais un vieux moribond nest bon a rien.

1772

The sick old man presents his compliments to Madame Gallatin. It is solely by virtue of the courtesy of the French Ambassador that he has the honor of knowing the Count d'Aranda. He has no personal connection whatsoever with this Prime Minister. He would be delighted to be of assistance to M. de Gorani, but an old man at death's door can do nothing.

Reçu pour l'année échue en 1772, quatre cent livres de M. et Mme. Galatin Vaudenai, a Ferney 14 avril 1772.

Voltaire[30]

Received for the payment due in 1772, four-hundred livres from M. and Madame Gallatin Vaudenet. Ferney, April 14, 1772.

Voltaire

A Ferney
25 avril 1772

Le vieux malade de Ferney présente ses respects à Madame Galatin. On dit que de mardy en huit,

Ferney
April 25, 1772

The sick old man of Ferney presents his respects to Madame Gallatin. They say that a week from

in which he reproached his colleagues for their lack of taste. He left Cassel soon afterwards.

[30] Unpublished

il y aura à Tourney une grande assemblée nommée les assises; on prie Madame Galatin de vouloir bien prêter une chambre pour cette auguste cérémonie.

Mme Denis fait mille compliments à Madame Galatin.

Tuesday there will be a large assembly called the Assizes at Tournay; we beg Madame Gallatin to be so kind as to lend us a room for this august ceremony.

Madame Denis sends her compliments to Madame Gallatin.

19e octobre, 1772
A Ferney

Je vous remercie, Madame, et je remercierai Mgr. le Landgrave. Je suis plus faible et plus malade que jamais. Je n'espère pas manger de ses asperges, mais j'ai autant de reconnaissance que si j'etais sur de les manger.

October 19, 1772
Ferney

I thank you, Madame, and I shall thank the Landgrave. I am weaker and more indisposed than ever. I have no hope of being able to enjoy his asparagus, but I am as grateful as if I were certain to enjoy it.[31]

1772

Sitôt que je serai moins malade j'aurai l'honneur d'aller chez vous Madame, pour vous remercier des bontés de Monseigneur le Landgrave et des vôtres.

Mme Denis va un peu mieux, mais je suis toujours malade.

Mille très humbles respects.

Le Vieillard de Ferney, V.
Samedy

1772

As soon as I am not so ill I shall have the honor of calling upon you, Madame, to express my appreciation for the kindness of My Lord the Landgrave and for yours.[32]

Madame Denis is a little better, but I am still sick.

A thousand very humble greetings.

The old man of Ferney, V.
Saturday

1772

Je suis très peu informé, Madame, des nouvelles de la cour. On dit qu'un petit enfant du Sr. Raffo est mort, mais on ne dit rien du père.

Je suis si peu touché des grandeurs de ce monde, que j'ignore si Raffo est chatelain or curial de Tourney. De quelque dignité qu'il

1772

I am very poorly informed, Madame, about news at the Court. They say that a little child of Lord Raffo's died, but I have heard nothing about the father.

I am so out of touch with the great in this world that I do not know whether Raffo is governor

[31] This was written before the arrival of the asparagus.
[32] This letter was an acknowledgment of the arrival of the asparagus.

ait été revètu pendant sa vie, je la confèrerai sans difficulté à celui que vous me recommandez, bien persuadé qu'il ne se laissera pas éblouir par l'éclat d'une si haute fortune.

Bien des respects.

Le vieux malade de Ferney.

or warden at Tournay. It will give me pleasure to confer whatever title he may have enjoyed during his lifetime upon anyone whom you suggest, for I am certain that he will not be dazzled by so great an honor.

Best wishes to you.

The sick old man at Ferney.

Jay reçu de Monsieur et de Madame Galatin Vaudenet quatre cent livres pour lannée echue au mois d avril 1773. fait a Ferney le 24 avril 1773.

Voltaire[33]

I have received from M. and Madame Gallatin Vaudenet four-hundred livres for the year due in April, 1773.

Done at Ferney April 24, 1773.

Voltaire

J'ai reçu de Madame Gallatin Vaudenet les arrérages échus le 11e avril dernier à Ferney le 6e juin 1776. Voltaire[34]

I have received from Madame Gallatin Vaudenet the payment due last April 11th on June 6, 1776 at Ferney. Voltaire

Reçu de Madame Gallatin quatre cent livres pour les arrérages échus le onze avril 1777. Fait à Ferney le 26 juin 1777.

Voltaire[35]

Received from Madame Gallatin four-hundred livres for the payment due April 11, 1777. Done at Ferney June 26, 1777.

Voltaire

Je soussigné, en vertu de la procuration de Monsieur de Voltaire à moi donnée, déclare avoir reçu de Madame Gallatin Vaudenet, quatre cents francs de France, pour les interets d'une année du capital de huit mille livres, échus le onzieme avril 1778, dont quittance.

Fait a Ferney le 25e May 1778.

Wagniere

I, the undersigned, by virtue of the power of attorney which M. de Voltaire gave me, declare that I have received from Madame Gallatin Vaudenet four hundred French francs which are the yearly interest on a sum of eight thousand pounds due April 11, 1778. This is the receipt.

Done at Ferney May 25, 1778.

Wagniere

[33] Unpublished.
[34] Unpublished.
[35] Unpublished.

GALLATIN REVISITED · PART FOUR

WHILE KINGS DEFIED THE WILL OF GOD: A GLANCE AT OUR MINISTER'S MAIL

by WAYNE ANDREWS, *Curator of Manuscripts*

AS WE ALL KNOW, historians are not to be hurried, and the ingenious contrivers of our textbooks no sooner succeed in making American history easy than the conscientious members of the historical profession blast what seems to be an oversimplification of the American past. So perhaps we should guard against thinking that Albert Gallatin's usefulness was over the moment he withdrew from the Treasury. When he set sail for the continent on May 9, 1813, the negotiations at Ghent lay ahead of him. So, too, did his seven years' service as our minister in Paris, and, what was far more important, his labors in London as minister plenipotentiary. If he did not succeed in settling the American claims against the French government—this troublesome problem, dating back to the days of the Berlin and Milan decrees, was not to be solved until Edward Livingston's ministry—he could look back with a certain satisfaction on his achievements at the Court of Saint James in 1826–7. The commercial treaties of 1815 and 1818 were renewed, an agreement was reached on the joint occupation of Oregon, and the line of our Northeast Boundary, though not finally determined, was at least submitted to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands.

But as we thumb through the thousands of letters in our Albert Gallatin Collection, we may treasure the correspondance of his diplomatic career not so much for what he accomplished as for what he observed. In Paris from 1816 to 1823, in the midst of the crises, which provoked the Monroe Doctrine, he was in touch with other American diplomats stationed from Buenos Aires to St. Petersburg, and to glance at his mail is to relive the days of the South American struggle for independence, and to begin to

understand the complexity of the situation confronting our State Department.

In these anxious years Gallatin could be forgiven for thinking that he was the representative in Paris not of the United States alone, but of the republican spirit in the modern world. Well aware that his own family could be traced back to the 13th century,* he was not impressed by the antiquity of the titles borne by the ministers of Louis XVIII. Nor did he pretend to admire those Frenchmen who grew enthusiastic over the blessings of monarchy pure and undefiled. When the Vicomte de Chateaubriand issued *De la monarchie selon la charte*, a pamphlet scolding the French Government for following too eagerly the precedents of the revolutionary era, Gallatin for once in his life was angry. Had our representative been a man of letters, or taken the slightest interest in romantic literature, he might have made excuses for the author of *Le Génie du Christianisme*, but then he would not have been himself.

"Nobody," Gallatin advised the State Department, commenting on Chateaubriand in the fall of 1816, "is the dupe of the pretended concern for liberty with which he has covered his attack against the Ministry. Every body knows that the party of whom he is the organ want neither charter nor constitutional provisions, that their object is power, and the restoration of the privileges and property of which the revolution has deprived them."

Less than seven years later, when the deliberations of the Congress of Verona had made plain that France and Russia approved of an invasion of Spain, if necessary, to bolster the tottering Spanish monarchy, Gallatin forwarded another provocative report to Adams. "The French royalists," our minister noted, "are all united in their hatred of the Spanish revolution, and in their wishes to crush it: but they differ about the means. The reluctance on the part of some to make an open war does not

* Incidentally, in documents now in the possession of The New-York Historical Society.

JORNADA
DE
MAIPO.

Del Gobierno Supremo de Chile.

EXMO. SEÑOR.

En este momento recibo del Exmo. Sr. General en Xefe D. José de San Martin el parte siguiente = Exmo. Sr. Acabamos de triunfar completamente del aniuz Osorio y sus sequaces en el llano de Maipo: desde la una hasta las seis de la tarde se ha dado la batalla, que sin aventurar podemos decir afianza la libertad de América. El general de infantería D. Antonio Gonzalez Balcarce, los xefes de division de la derecha D. Juan Gregorio de las Heras, de la izquierda D. Rudesindo Alvarado, de la reserva D. Hilarion de la Quintana, y en fin todos los comandantes de los cuerpos se han portado con un denuedo y bizarria inimitable. El enemigo quedó destrozado enteramente; toda su artilleria y parque está en nuestro poder. Pasan de mil quinientos los prisioneros; entre ellos mas de cincuenta oficiales, el general Ordoñez, y el xefe de su estado mayor Primo de Rivera. Los muertos aún no pueden calcularse; sus dispersos son seguen acuchillándose por nuestra valerosa caballeria: nuestra pérdida ha sido muy escasa: todo corona la victoria de este gran dia. El detall de esta gloriosa accion lo daré á V. E. luego que menos apurados momentos lo permitan. Por ahora me complazco de felicitar á V. E. y en su persona á todos los pueblos de su Estado.—Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. Quartel general en el campo de batalla Llanos de Maipo, Abril 5 de 1818, á las seis de la tarde.—Exmo. Sr. — *José de San Martin.*— Exmo. Sr.—Tengo el honor de copiarlo á V. E. para su satisfaccion.——Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. Santiago de Chile, Abril 5 de 1818.—*Bernardo O'Higgins.*— Exmo. Sr. Director Supremo de las Provincias-Unidas de Sud-América.

OTRO.

Oficio del Exmo. Sr. Capitan general D. José de S. Martin al Gobierno Supremo de estas Provincias.

EXMO. SEÑOR.

Los contrastes de las armas de la América son precursores de la libertad. Ya sabe V. E. que una inevitable sorpresa y no el valor del enemigo, ni la timidez de nuestras tropas les dió sobre Lircay una victoria momentánea, dispersándose con la obscuridad de la noche una parte de nuestro exército; pero el honor y constancia de los defensores de la Patria han triunfado hoy completamente.

El enemigo que adquirió confianza y un orgullo propio de su ridicula altivéz, tuvo la arrogancia de acercarse hasta las inmediaciones de Santiago donde se habian replegado nuestras fuerzas.

Tres dias ha que habia pasado el Maipo. Sus movimientos tortuosos indicaban que queria, favorecido de las sombras, repetir la escena del diez y nueve anterior, pero nuestros valientes, que le conocian, se han ido hoy sobre él á la bayoneta á la una de la tarde á pesar que resistia el ataque, y que ocupaba sobre alturas una posicion dominante. El ha sido completamente derrotado: mas de 1500 prisioneros hay en nuestro poder con toda su artilleria y parque. Los muertos aún no pueden calcularse. Su dispersion ha sido completa, aun se le persigue por nuestra caballeria. Entre muchos oficiales tenemos prisioneros al general Ordoñez, y al xefe de su Estado mayor Primo de Rivera.

Reconocido á V. E. y á la America toda la brillantez con que se han comportado el general Brigadier D. Antonio Gonzalez Balcarce y los xefes de division de la derecha coronel D. Juan Gregorio de las Heras, de la izquierda teniente coronel D. Rudesindo Alvarado, y de reserva D. Hilarion de la Quintana, asi como toda la oficialidad y tropa. Nuestros muertos han sido muy pocos. No son estos instantes, Exmo. Sr. para dar un detall: protesto exhibirlo breve á V. E.

Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años quartel general en al campo de batalla Llano de Maipo inmediaciones de Santiago de Chile Abril 5 de 1818 á las seis de la tarde.— Exmo. Sr. *José de S. Martin*. Exmo. Sr. Supremo Director de las Provincias-Unidas de Sud América.

Con la misma fecha, pero por un nuevo extraordinario acaba de recibirse el siguiente oficio.

Exmo. Sr.—Nada existe del exército enemigo, el que no ha sido muerto, es prisionero. Artilleria, 160 oficiales, todos sus generales, excepto Osorio están en nuestro poder: yo espero que este último me lo traigan hoy: la accion del 19 ha sido reemplazada con usura: en una palabra, ya no hay enemigos en Chile.— Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. Quartel general en el campo de Maipo 5 de Abril de 1818.—Exmo. Sr.— *José de San Martin.* — Exmo. Sr. Supremo Director de las Provincias-Unidas de Sud-América.

¡San Martin! ¡Heroe de Chacabuco y Maipo! ¡Todos los Patriotas pronuncian tu nombre con entusiasmo y con locura entre los transportes y las lágrimas! ¡Todos los pueblos te consagran un reconocimiento eterno y lo legan en herencia á las generaciones venideras! ¡No dexarás de ser amado en una Patria que has salvado dos veces coronandola de laureles en las llanuras, y en los cerros!

Mañana á las diez del dia se tributarán al Dios de los exércitos acciones de gracias en la Santa Iglesia Catedral á cuya solemnidad asistirá S. E. el Supremo Director del Estado y corporaciones.

Habrá tres noches de iluminaciones en toda la ciudad. Buenos-Ayres Abril 17 de 1818.—De órden de S. E.—*Gregorio Tagle.*

IMPRENTA DE LOS EXPOSITOS.

arise from the effect it might produce on the commerce, the public credit, and the prosperity of France. Impelled by the warmth of their political convictions, they are restrained only by fear, the fear principally of their own army, on which they do not place a full reliance."

But we cannot mention the preparations for the French invasion of Spain in April 1823 without thinking of the anguish wrought in Madrid and other conservative capitals by the successes of the revolutionary armies in South America. It was Caesar Augustus Rodney, our unofficial agent in Buenos Aires, who gave Gallatin the news in the spring of 1818 of San Martín's victory at Maipú, "a triumph rendered more glorious to San Martín, by the previous misfortunes his army had suffered." Since Maipú might be termed the Yorktown of Chilean history—it definitely established Chilean independence—our Society is especially fortunate in owning the broadside of the victory which Rodney sent on to Gallatin.

In February 1819, barely eight months after Maipú, John Quincy Adams and Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister in Washington, signed the treaty by which Florida, as well as a handsome share of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi, was ceded to the United States. But this treaty, though it deserves to be remembered as Adams' great achievement in diplomacy, was not ratified until 1821, so tense was the mood of Madrid, and our minister at the Spanish court, John Forsyth, was ill at ease; to sense his predicament, we have only to scan his many letters to Gallatin.

As early as June 1819, Forsyth was positive that ratification was in sight, only to see his hopes suddenly dashed. "I had an assurance from the Marquis de Casa Yrujo* yesterday that the

* Yrujo's wife was the daughter of Governor Thomas McKean of Pennsylvania.

BROADSIDE REPORT OF SAN MARTÍN'S VICTORY AT MAIPÚ 1818

Enclosed by Caesar A. Rodney at Buenos Aires to Albert Gallatin at Paris

In the Society's Gallatin Collection

subject would be if in his power to effect it disposed of by the end of the present week," Forsyth confided. "The assurance is now worthless. The Marquis was last night banished to Avila. For what reason is not distinctly known. Some say because he pushed our treaty *imprudently*."

In the spring of 1820 Forsyth was pondering the consequences of the restoration by Ferdinand VII of the Constitution of 1812. "It is," he wrote Gallatin, "impossible to calculate what effect will be produced in S. America by the proclamation of the King and the revolution in this Peninsula. I should imagine that Buenos Ayres, Chili & Venezuela have parted for ever from the parent country. The members of this Govt. speak however with confident hopes of recovering them & these hopes are not a little encreased by the recent advice from the River of Plate." For his part, Forsyth felt that the use of force was out of the question, thanks to "the unconquerable aversion of the officers and soldiers of the army to the South American service. I will not venture to say that the Constitution of 1812 would never have been re-established in Spain but for this cause, but I may venture to say that this was one of the leading causes of the sudden re-establishment of it."

One might think that the ratification of the Adams-Onís Treaty, followed by the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine, would inevitably have lessened the tension between Washington and Madrid, but this was not to be. In January 1826, Alexander Hill Everett, the ambitious older brother of Edward Everett, made the most of his appointment to the post once held by Forsyth. "A statesman," Everett reminded the King of Spain, "who attempts to counteract the force of circumstances, or, in more religious and juster language, to defy the will of God, will find his efforts ineffectual and generally injurious to himself."

This was too much for Christopher Hughes, Jr., once the secretary of our mission to Ghent, and now chargé d'affaires in the Netherlands. The Monroe Doctrine was all very well, but it did not entitle our diplomats to deliver tirades of this sort in the

capitals of the Old World: one should consider the feelings of kings, especially the feelings of kings cheated of their colonies. "Since my arrival here & at the Hague," Hughes wrote Gallatin from Brussels at the end of 1826, "I hear, at every turn, hints & cases of the gaucherie, awkward and *l'autre monde* demeanor of Mr. Everett."

ALEX. H. EVERETT (1792–1847)
Who denounced the King of Spain
Miniature by Washington Blanchard
Gift of the artist, 1849

Our minister at Madrid had previously been stationed in the Netherlands—and this was mortifying to Hughes in more ways than one. "I have felt," he confessed, "the effect of Mr. Everett's most unconciliating carriage and ill-chosen *tactics* here, by a manifest disclination of some of the most important personages & desirable acquaintances among la haute noblesse de ce pays-ci to have any but a mere formal, card-pushing acquaintance with Mr. Everett's successor."

What was even more humiliating, Hughes had heard that "some of the members of Congress last winter said: 'Mr. Hughes was quite too young and gay to be made a minister, give us a man grave and serious & *dignified*, like *Mr. Everett*. This was gall to me," the chargé continued, ". . . but I swallowed it. We are obliged, in our mundane journey, to gulp down many uncomfortable & nauseous draughts, and I acknowledge this *objection to me* (because I don't whine out my words, and wear my top-knot smooth) went severely against my stomach, but I got it down. . . . What rendered it more unpleasant was, its having been communicated to me by a very well informed member of the Corps Diplomatique at Washington. So, I found that I was

too young & too cheerful & too fond of mirth, and causing mirth to others, and that my only hope of becoming a minister, was to imitate Magister Everett."

If only the people in Washington would realize that it was not in the best of taste for our diplomats to "put forth unmixed democracy," and that Mr. Everett's "unrelenting and obdurate republicanism" was unworthy of an American who kept good company. Why, only the other day, one of the ministers stationed in Copenhagen was diverting a dinner table with the tale of Mr. Everett's latest. "To pronounce the word Altesse Royale or Votre Majesté seems to revolt his heart & give him a pain in his bowels!" was the minister's final comment.

But the worries of Hughes—can we imagine him without a scented handkerchief?—were as nothing to the troubles of James Swan, the mysterious American financier who spent the last twenty-two years of his life in Sainte Pélagie prison in Paris. This Swan, a Scotsman who had moved to Boston on the eve of the American Revolution, joined the Boston Tea Party, and been wounded at Bunker Hill, proved he was even more daring as a businessman; outwitting Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and our government's bankers at Amsterdam, he succeeded in 1795 in buying up what was left of the American debt to France. Over $2,000,000 was involved in this deal, the result of which was to turn our foreign-held debt into a domestic obligation.

But by 1808 in Paris, Swan was cast into prison. As he wrote Gallatin eight years afterward: "I was seized under General Armstrong's ministry, and he sacrificed me to personal hatred on account of a difference I had with his favorite." The prisoner did not explain the nature of the difference with the "favorite"—very likely Armstrong's secretary Nicholas Biddle—but he went on to discuss the other details of his case.

"There is no judgment against me: but the law authorizes the imprisonment of a stranger until he shall give security for a judgment to come. The supposed debt, by me, is to a person in his third suspension, who really owes me more than double what

he asks of me, for which he can offer me no security. Influence of men in power in favor of my adversary; political persecution in consequence of my too known attachment to the Bourbons, and intrigue of the deepest kind—all have united to detain me against every sort of justice pronounced in civilized nations, in order to force me to an act of suicide on my family's fortune in favor of a man who is in fact my debtor."

We may wonder today—as Gallatin himself may have wondered—whether Swan sincerely desired to be released from prison. For life behind the bars of Sainte Pélagie was not so confining as you might think.* The prisoner seems to have enjoyed more than a little leisure—enough, at least, to be accused of operating a counterfeiting machine in his cell, and he was allowed to spend all the time he liked studying his American investments. "You will," he once wrote Gallatin, "render me an essential service by informing me if the Federal Government has put a tax on unimproved lands & how much it is? I am told a Continental tax has been laid & as I am now providing for the taxes of this year, you'll oblige & serve me by answering my question."

The strange story of James Swan has unfortunately nothing whatever to do with our international relations at the time of the Monroe Doctrine, but perhaps the telling it has not been in vain. The Gallatin Collection is so rich, and the unexpected so frequently discovered, that it would not have been fair to quote from the diplomatic correspondence of the period without sampling Swan's complaints.

So ends the series: "Gallatin Revisited." Scholars anxious to delve deeper into the Society's extensive Gallatin Collection may consult the manuscript *Calendar of the Gallatin Papers* (compiled by the curator, 1950), 351 pages, and the *Supplementary Calendar* (1951), 68 pages. The Collection has been microfilmed on 25 reels, including both calendars.

* For the luxury of certain apartments at Sainte-Pélagie, see Gérard de Nerval, "Sainte-Pélagie en 1832," *Oeuvres* (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1952), 76.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Storm Over Savannah. The Story of Count d'Estaing and the Siege of the Town in 1779. By Alexander A. Lawrence. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1951. x + 220 pages, appendix, notes, biblio., index, illus. $3.50.)

Many readers might think that the military events of the American Revolution have been written and rewritten about so often that little in the way of new interpretations or new facts could now be added. It is surprising to find, therefore, a book such as *Storm Over Savannah* being published at this late date, and, on reading it, to realize how much generally unknown material has been unearthed by Mr. Lawrence in his recreation of an event usually covered in a very few pages in histories of the war. And the siege and unsuccessful assault of the British-held city by American forces under General Lincoln and their French allies led by the glory-seeking admiral and general Count d'Estaing in the fall of 1779 possessed, says Mr. Lawrence, "qualities of drama and color unmatched elsewhere in American history," and the outcome of which "affected the whole course of the American Revolution."

Though written in a popular style that occasionally annoys (as for instance this concerning the great explorer Pérouse: "Watching the big September sea moons come up off Carolina, the thirty-eight-year-old mariner must have brooded during these weeks over the ever faithful Creole girl he could not marry because of the disapproval of his ambitious parents"), the book is based on exhaustive research as attested by the scholarly and probably complete bibliography, that provides its most important contribution. Intending particularly to tell the story of the French at Savannah, the author dug in French archives to uncover the many manuscript accounts and records made by the busily writing French officers, and so brought back the personalities of many almost-forgotten participants. In addition he searched through records in London and Edinburgh, and was enabled thereby to present a more complete picture of the British hero of the siege, the fascinating Lieutenant Colonel John Maitland. Nor were the Americans neglected. Manuscript sources, as well as published memoirs and papers, were consulted and used with effect in presenting their view of the attempt at coöperation between allies, an attempt here shown to have been much more difficult and nearly disastrous than has usually been described.

An interesting sidelight revealed in the book is the early appearance in this country of the conflict between the army and the press, and the question of military security. Count d'Estaing ran into the problem before he actually arrived off the coast of Georgia. Though his destination was supposedly secret the Charleston newspapers heralded his arrival

with news of the size of his fleet and the complement of troops, and caused him to remark that the American papers were "imprudent and nearly always tell their lies at the most inappropriate time." Later the press revealed the departure and destination of the British relief troops under Maitland, facts of which neither of the Allied commanders was apparently cognizant.

This Society was pleased that an unpublished French journal of which it owns a contemporary manuscript copy and which it is printing in this issue was used by Mr. Lawrence and provided colorful comment and additional data for his enjoyable and valuable work.

The New-York Historical Society ROBERTA LEIGHTON

Incredible New York: High Life and Low Life of the Last Hundred Years. By LLOYD MORRIS. (New York: Random House, 1951. xiii + 370 pages, illus., index. $5.00.)

Here is a book written from the headlines of the last one hundred years of New York City's colorful past. For all the inherent dangers which lurk to beset one using this method of interpreting history, the author has succeeded in producing a first-rate book. This is no volume of reference, yet it cannot escape becoming a valuable source of information on a period less extensively covered by chroniclers of New York's past. Instead, it is a book designed to be read for enjoyment, and, having read it, one can sit back with the pleasant realization that he has gained, through its pages, a background for understanding the present-day city —socially, economically, and politically.

The volume is divided into four parts, each of which covers the city in 20-year spans between 1850 and 1930, with an epilogue to bring the reader up to date. The style is suggestive of pointilism in painting. Through the use, to a great extent, of minutiae, the author has successfully woven a hardy variety of facts into an absorbing story.

As for subject matter, its range is as wide as the gamut of New York life. One catches glimpses of the famous and the infamous as the pages race on: Edwin Forrest, Susan B. Anthony, the Bowery Boys, P. T. Barnum, Diamond Jim Brady, J. P. Morgan, Boss Tweed, George Rector, Lillian Russell, Ward McAllistor, the Astors, the Vanderbilts, Leonard Jerome, Abe Hummel, Arnold Rothstein, Lucky Luciano, Horace Greeley, Jim Fiske, Josie Mansfield, Jack "Legs" Diamond, and literally hundreds of others. Society, literary tastes and leaders, art and patrons, politicians and their intrigues, the stage, criminals and prosecutors, are described in a direct, detached manner, which at times sparkles with the wit characteristic of the author. He touches upon such delightful inconsequential items as the insulting hospitality of Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish. "Quick tempered, malicious, easily bored and incapable of

enduring monotony, she proposed to purge society of its stodginess," the author states. "She was reputed to be witty, though her wit usually took the form of imaginative insult. 'Make yourself perfectly at home,' she greeted a group of dinner guests, 'And, believe me, there is no one who wishes you there more heartily than I do.'"

In another mood he is capable of summarizing in a single sweeping statement, the termination of an entire era of New York life, as he does in commenting upon Tammany Hall's James J. Hines and Jimmie Walker. "They were the victims," he recalls, "of a change in mood on the part of the public; in a way, casualties of the Great Depression that, blotting out the festive era, once again turned the minds of the people to rectitude and morality, to clean politics and reform, and that brought about the election of Fiorello H. LaGuardia as Mayor of New York." One is reminded of books like Stanley Walker's *Mrs. Astor's Horse* and Herbert Asbury's *Gangs of New York*, and possibly Henry Collins Brown's *Valentine's Manuals;* however, Lloyd Morris writes with more sophistication and authority than the latter.

Among the topics covered are succinct accounts of the draft riots of 1863, Jenny Lind's debut at Castle Garden, the infamous career of Madame Restell, Henry Ward Beecher and Victoria Woodhull, the Jim Fiske murder, the Prince of Wales' Ball, the $10,000 dinner given by Edward Luckemeyer at Delmonico's, the literary soirees of Mrs. Vincenzo Botta, the gambling adventures of "Bet-a-Million" Gates, Cesnola and the founding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the talents of John Rogers, Dr. Charles Parkhurst's crusade against sin, Koster & Bial's "Nichelodean," the Hotel Algonquin's Rose Room, T. DeWitt Talmage's exposures and the Lexow Committee, Oscar and the Waldorf, the Jimmie Walker era, the speakeasy and gang warfare, and hundreds of others. The author in the course of the volume singles out some fifteen hundred personalities. There are also one hundred well chosen contemporary illustrations, many of which have been reproduced here for the first time.

Mr. Morris covers such a wide range and great diversity of subjects and people that one suspects the author of being hard put at times to present his story with unbiased accuracy. A case in point is his description of the draft riots with an implied mishandling of the affair by Governor Horatio Seymour, who, he states, was a rabid anti-war Democrat, who, alluding to the proposed draft, "threatened the Republican administration with disorder," and who, upon a belated return to the city after the riots had broken out, addressed the rioters as "his friends whose interests and welfare he had returned to serve." This hostile attitude toward the Governor is the prevailing one found in earlier partisan accounts of the affair. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., in his Chapter on "New York and the Civil War" in the *History of the State of New York*,

edited by Alexander C. Flick, however, describes Seymour as a man of high moral character, who, although favoring conciliation of the South, avowed his intention to support the administration upon the outbreak of war, and charges to inadvertency, his unfortunate address to the rioters as "My friends." Wall in his *Sketch of the Life of Horatio Seymour* (1929) shows that Seymour had no recollection of having used the term when he hurriedly arrived in the city and made an extemporaneous appeal to the assembled crowd at City Hall. Furthermore, when Seymour left the city, prior to the outbreak of the riots, according to Wall, he had not received any intimation from the Federal authorities as to the date of their intention to execute the draft in the city. In view of the above, the question arises as to whether Mr. Morris has unquestioningly accepted the earlier more-heated accounts or whether, despite the more perspective treatments of the later works quoted above, the author is still unconvinced. The lack of footnotes or a bibliography prevents our determining this point.

Whatever the reason for this deviation on a minor point, there is no reason for suspecting the validity of the book as a whole. The volume, in this reviewer's opinion, remains a fascinating book to read and a distinct contribution to the social history of New York.

The New Jersey Historical Society ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

The New Nation: a History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789. By MERRILL JENSEN. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. xvii + 433 + xi pages, including "Essay on the Sources" and index. $5.00.)

Experiment in Independence: New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1781–1789. By RICHARD P. MCCORMICK. [Rutgers Studies in History, No. 6] (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1950. xiii + 338 pages, including biblio. and index, fold. map. $4.00.)

If "revolution" means fundamental change, civil war being merely the usual means by which it is effected, then the history of a given revolution should stress its eve and its aftermath. Revolutionary change is necessarily connected with the past that produced it and with the future to which it gives direction. From these periods one may learn, respectively, the ideas and values for which man freely sheds his blood, and the degree to which man is capable of making action conform to ideal principles. The age of the American Revolution has seldom been considered in its entirety, and then most often as fundamentally a political movement, or but vaguely as social change. Occasionally it has been viewed merely as playing a brief rôle in the cyclical alternation between centralized and decentralized government in American history. Thus Ver-

non L. Parrington, like John and Brooks Adams, saw it. More often, however, historians have embraced only one of its three parts—its causes, its warlike drama, or its after effects—within a unifying viewpoint. Such are the works under review—both being concerned with the period following the war.

As far as the so-called "critical period" is concerned, scholars for some time accepted the conservative and partisan interpretation given to it in 1888 by John Fiske. In 1909 Carl Becker, viewing the Revolution as essentially a social movement, suggested a different interpretation of its aftermath. He pointed to the postwar extension of fundamental wartime alignments, to the continuing fear of governmental oppression the object of which, formerly the British, now became the American government, and to the disappointment of the unfranchised classes in not achieving their revolutionary aspirations until the administrations of Jefferson and of Jackson. This fruitful suggestion and the resultant or sporadic attacks upon Fiske's work later led to sharply revisionist conclusions concerning the Confederation period—among them a growing conviction that Americans were carried much farther along the road to stability under the Confederation than was commonly believed. While the contributions of Charles Beard and his followers to the revised view of the period have been recognized, economic determinism as an interpretation has been condemned. Consequently Professor Merrill Jensen—whose trial synthesis of the Confederation period presents a persuasive case for the radicals from all points of view—has become the recognized exponent of the revisionist school of historians.

Presumably Professor Jensen's *The Articles of Confederation* (1948) and *The New Nation* (1950) will become a trilogy—completing his study of the age of the American revolution—since he states that the history of the writing and ratification of the Constitution is not included in his 1950 study as it merits a separate treatment. The present writer, therefore, is reviewing his work as a whole, including the tentative conclusions he has already drawn regarding the Constitution of 1787.

Professor Jensen's views of the American revolution are similar to those of Carl Becker. Changing their usual nomenclature, Jensen accurately labels the radicals as "Federalists" and the conservatives as "Nationalists." The democratic tradition, in his eyes, is implicit in the decentralized confederation that existed from 1781 to 1789, wherein State governments, unchecked by a superior, *coercive* authority, were producing a form of agrarian democracy. Justifying the Confederation by its numerous solid achievements—which in *The New Nation* he explores in detail—Professor Jensen finds that by the close of the period the nation had about passed the postwar depression and was reaching economic stability. Social and political stability was also in sight, for the most able of the radical leaders finally came to realize the need for in-

vigorating the central government within the framework of the Articles of Confederation.

On the verge of success, the "Federalists" lost the battle, because they were opposed by a non-democratic but dynamic minority with a positive program. Despite the achievements of the Confederation, the "Nationalists" were able to engineer a counter-revolution and to create a new constitution in 1787. The substitution of a national and coercive government for the federal and democratic one, Professor Jensen sees as partly due to the failure of the "Federalists" to realize soon enough that the only way to save the greater part of the autonomy of the States was through a partial surrender of power. When the grant of power to the central government came, it was to do away with most of what the "Federalists" had fought to achieve. The failure of the radicals in 1789 is also attributed to the political collapse they suffered by neglecting to maintain their Revolutionary organs of political action. Only when they learned to unite permanently on a national scale could they capture the citadel of their foe and once again make democracy possible for the American people. Thus does Professor Jensen's interpretation lean in the direction of that of Parrington and of the two Adamses.

Although most readers will admire Professor Jensen's erudition and his deep sympathy for the 18th-century concept of democracy, some will note basic lacunae in his work and many will disagree with his conclusions. Jensen's interpretation, for example, postulates two premises denied by many historians, namely, that the decentralized government of the Confederation could have been made efficient within the framework of the Articles and that the "Federalists" correctly perceived the direction of the nation's economic future. Some readers will find that Jensen, while justifying them, fails to account for the great impact of such anarchistic phenomena as Shay's rebellion upon the political thought of the day. Others will note that, because Professor Jensen includes within the ranks of the conservatives men who worked with the "Nationalists" from convictions not necessarily to be equated with conservatism, he loses sight of the moderates.

If this reviewer understands Professor Jensen's viewpoint correctly, his interpretation is limited by his point of view. For example, he can quote Timothy Dwight's sermon of 1781, alluding to the 18th century as being "the most enlightened of any," or Governor Edmund Randolph's statement in the Constitutional Convention that when the Articles of Confederation were framed, "human rights were the chief knowledge of the times," without considering the Enlightment as such. Presumably the candle of the Enlightment was snuffed in order to stress the realism and to minimize the idealism of the 18th century, particularly in politics. The price Professor Jensen pays for this omission is felt throughout his work, but especially in his presentation of humanitarian-

ism and of the spirit of the new nation. His presentation loses significance and occasionally reality when he fails to relate these phenomena to environmentalism, to the natural rights philosophy, and the more comprehensive spirit of the Enlightenment. For they are definitely related to the 18th-century beliefs that human institutions should be tested and reformed according to reason, that the dignity of man should be recognized and elevated, and that steps should be taken to realize the idea of progress.

Professor Jensen's emphasis upon this realism also leads him to endorse Madison's view of government as an arbitrator in a ceaseless struggle between great pressure groups. Madison's view, however, was limited by the preconceptions and class interests of his age. Based in part upon the social-contract theory that assumed a primordial state of nature without social ties, his view stressed the separate and conflicting interests of individuals and of groups, rather than a common good uniting all men as social beings. However, the Madisonian compromises of those conflicting interests, in the Constitution, made possible the emergence of a youthful nationalism that recognized no degrees between individuals. Not until that nationalism brought forth some recognition of the *unity* of the people was a solid base for democracy on a national scale provided. There was not enough sense of the common to sustain the democratic structure that was laid during the Confederation period against the bitter conflicts of interests and of faction. The defeat of majority will—as expressed in debtor legislation—by the economic power of the merchants can thus be explained. Although innocent of an abuse of power from a modern point of view, majority rule, even as depicted by Jensen, was producing a democracy largely weighted in favor of agrarian interests. Against such majority rule the opposition, feeling a sense of frustration, pitted not only its economic strength but an appeal to a past that was still strong. It was too strong for the agrarian majority successfully to favor such radical legislation as would make governments the source of money and credit, for example, in an age just getting around to abolishing the relics of feudalism. Failure of majority rule to respect what the minority regarded as its rights always led the latter to contemplate some form of revolutionary action. Minority despair might possibly have led to a social upheaval within the new nation similar to the one soon to take place in France. In this sense, the Constitution of 1787 may well be viewed as a true compromise, providing perhaps the only vehicle of democracy that could long or safely ride over those parallel rails: the federal ideal of the radicals and the nationalist aim of the conservatives, which Jensen sees as hopelessly divergent. Paradoxically then, from the substitution of coercion for persuasion arose the truer emphasis of democracy: protection of minority rights as well as majority rule by means of a constitution capable of changing with changing needs and times.

Despite the works of E. W. Spaulding and R. L. Brunhouse for New York and Pennsylvania, respectively, the history of practically all but one of the Thirteen States needs to be studied or re-studied before a definitive work on the Confederation period can be produced. The lone exception to the list is New Jersey, for which an adequate and scholarly work has been provided by Dr. Richard P. McCormick of Rutgers University. Without a counterpart among the original States, New Jersey played a unique rôle in the Confederation. Its legislature strongly supported both the debtors and the creditors. Suffering from unusually heavy taxes and lacking the two richest sources of income, New Jersey was determined that the central government should relinquish requisitions upon the States in return for revenues to be derived from the sale of western lands and from tariffs. In order to force this issue, it refused to honor the congressional requisition of 1785 and thereby precipitated a crisis which Dr. McCormick considers equally as influential as Shay's rebellion in stimulating the movement that resulted in the calling of the Constitutional Convention. It was essentially the burden of debt and of taxation that caused all classes and sections within the State to favor the Constitution of 1787. In this local field, Dr. McCormick finds a vitality in self-government and progressive achievements that in general are similar to those which Professor Jensen finds in the national area. Perhaps Dr. McCormick's greatest contribution to a final synthesis of the period will be found to lie in his masterly treatment of finances. For, like Professor Jensen, his great strength lies in his dealing with economic and political matters rather than with social and cultural topics.

Both Professor Jensen's and Dr. McCormick's studies are based upon thorough research and upon sound scholarship. Both are incisive, provocative, and exceedingly well written. These are volumes which it is almost an imperative of good citizenship that one should read if not own.

The New-York Historical Society E. Marie Becker

Virginia Venturer, A Historical Biography of William Claiborne 1600–1677: The Story of The Merchant Venturers who Founded Virginia and The War in the Chesapeake. By Nathaniel C. Hale. (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1951. xvi + 340 pages, biblio., index, $5.00.)

A Tour Through Part of Virginia in the Summer of 1808. Also Some Account of The Islands of the Azores. By John Edwards Caldwell; edited by William M. E. Rachal. (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1951. xxi + 61 pages, index, facsims. $2.00.)

American Crisis Diplomacy: The Quest for Collective Security 1918–1952. By Richard W. Van Alstyne; foreword by Graham H. Stuart. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1952. xiii–165 pages, index. $3.50.)

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

A CALENDAR of the events and functions of the Society from the first of April until the end of June 1952 follows:

April 5: School Art League program for Junior and Senior High School boys and girls: "When Is a Picture Funny?" by Burne Hogarth. Films of America, showing "Seminoles of the Everglades," "Miracle on the Mesa," and "The Pueblo Heritage."

April 8: Lecture for members and friends by Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Gallery of Fine Arts at Yale University: "Historic Silver of America."

April 12: Films of America, showing "The River" and "H20–N.Y."

April 15: Opening of exhibition of SCULPTURED PORTRAITS OF DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS by Malvina Hoffman. These portraits have been presented to the Society by the sculptor.

April 18: Meeting of the League of Women Voters in the auditorium.

April 19: Films of America, showing "A Chance to Live," "Passport to Nowhere," and "Boundary Lines."

April 26: Films of America, showing "The Quiet One."

April 30: Meeting of the American Jewish Congress in the auditorium.

May 3: Films of America, showing "Jungle Quest for the Stone Heads," "Heart of the Inca Empire," and "Adobe Village."

May 6: Showing of the film "Williamsburg Restored" for members and friends, with introduction by Julien Bryan, producer of the film.

May 10: Films of America, showing "My Trip Abroad," "Marshall Plan at Work in France and Western Germany," and "I Went Back."

May 17: Adult Education Group Program, "Survey of Museum Collections" by Mr. Bilodeau. Films of America, showing "The World is Rich" and "Battle for Bread."

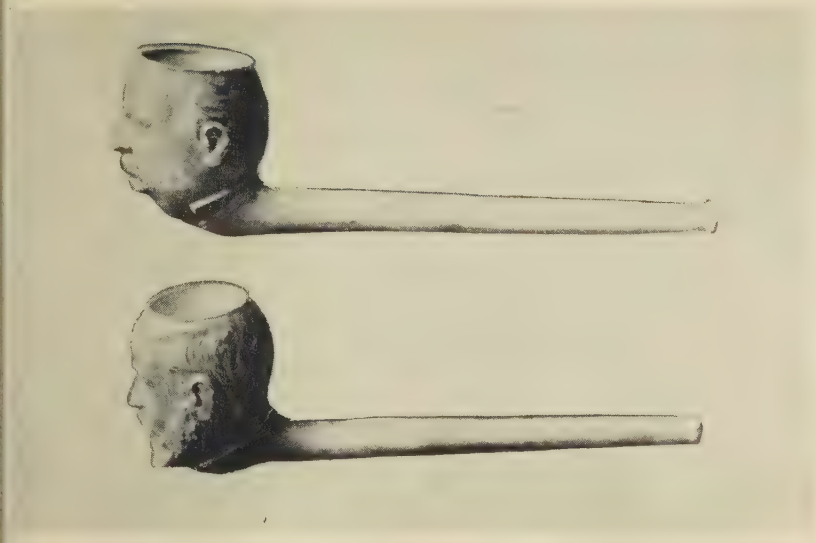
May 24: Films of America, showing "For All the World's Children," "Searchlight on the Nations," and "The Grand Design."

May 28: Reception for Special Libraries Association; refreshments in Dexter Hall.

June 2: Annual Strawberry Festival: Josh White, Beverly White, and Josh White, Jr., presented a program of folk songs; refreshments in the garden.

June 24: Presentation of School Art League awards: Welcome by Mr. Richard Koke in the absence of Mr. Vail, and addresses by Morris L. Rosenblum, Art Director, Macy's–New York.

June 25: Press preview for HATS IN THE RING exhibition; opening to the public on June 28th. This exhibition will run through November 17th.



CAMPAIGN PIPES OF GROVER CLEVELAND AND BENJAMIN HARRISON IN THE CURRENT "HATS IN THE RING" EXHIBITION

At the June 17th meeting of the Museums Council of New York Mr. Vail was chosen Chairman of the organization for the coming year.

Miss Judith Pless resigned as Supervisor of Education on April 30th, and was succeeded in that post on May 1st by Mr. Francis W. Bilodeau, formerly of the staff of the Newark Museum.

Miss Roberta Leighton, Assistant Editor, resigned on April 30th; her successor, Mr. David H. Wallace, will take up his duties at the Society next September 3d.

Miss Janice Bardeen, Library Cataloguer, resigned on May 19th because of illness. Miss Rosary Scacciaferro returned to the staff as Library Cataloguer on July 1st.

On Tuesday mornings in July Miss Eulalie Steinmetz of the New York Public Library will conduct a story-telling hour in the garden.

Two travelling exhibitions, "New York 1600–1800" and "From Meadow to Metropolis," circulated by the Education Department, went to ten of the city's High Schools during the past school year. These were seen by an estimated ten thousand students.

A series of film programs entitled "The American Way" will be presented on Saturday afternoons at 3:00 o'clock September 13th through November 15th. This program has been designed to tie in with the HATS IN THE RING exhibit and with election-year interests.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

TWENTY-EIGHT stereoscopic views of New York City. *Gift of Mrs. Frederic C. Archer.*

Oil portraits of Mr. and Mrs. James Codwise by John Trumbull; miniature of Robert Lenox; oil painting of View of the Highlands from Newburgh by J. K. Cornell; oil painting of Plunton Castle, Scotland, by Major George Colomb; watch fob with Lenox seal; Chinese export-porcelain cup and saucer; pewter plate made by S. Ellis, London. *From Collection of Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.*

Marriage contract of Johannes Clopper and Margreta Hangen, May 3, 1688; poem written by John Remse for his parents, Christmas, 1803; two diplomas of Aaron B. Belknap, 1836; watercolor by Calvin Pollard of residence of Henry Remsen, Cherry and Clinton Streets, New York City, and other prints and memorabilia relating to the ancestors of the late Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr. *Gift of Mrs. Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Sr.*

Approximately 180 pieces of early American glass and pottery. *Bequest of Mrs. J. Insley Blair.*

Photograph, colored, of painting owned by Rutgers University of the funeral of the Reverend Philip Milledoler and of his wife, September 25, 1852; typewritten account of the funeral ceremony by the Reverend Cornelius Brett. *Gift of Mr. Philip Milledoler Brett, great-great-grandson of Dr. Milledoler.*

Clearance papers to Captain Benjamin Arnold of the ship *Fox* of New York, 1796, signed by President Washington, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, Mayor Richard Varick, and Collector of Customs John Lamb. *Gift of Mrs. William D. Brush.*

Four pamphlets by Jules Leroux, Iowa, 1877; his preface and three circulars for *L'Etoile du Kansas;* circular for, and re-issue of *L'Etoile des Pauvers,* Saint-Helena, California. *Gift of Dr. Gilbert Chinard.*

Three charcoal drawings by the donor, of New York City scenes, 1932; five watercolors of posters designed by the donor for the New York World's Fair. *Gift of Mr. E. P. Chrystie.*

Album containing 137 photographs of New York City and 10 photographs of Niagara Falls, taken by the donor 1900–1901. *Gift of Mr. Horace B. Clark.*

Diary of Cornelius Rapelye Suydam of Newtown, L. I., on passage to, and travels in, England, 1830–31; maps, pamphlets, periodicals, and Presidential campaign tickets and buttons. *Gift of Mr. Arthur W. Clement.*

Eighteen photographs of Canadian scenes, 16 small engravings, 12 pictures from the *London Illustrated News* of Prince of Wales' visit in 1860. *Gift of Mrs. Byron Dexter.*

Oil painting of a house which formerly stood in Fort Tryon Park owned by Augustus C. Richards, grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. E. J. Dimock.*

Gold medallion made by Ball, Black & Co, presented in 1854 by the merchants and citizens of New York to Captain John Gill for gallant conduct during a ship wreck. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Thirty-nine letters and business papers of Spencer Stafford (1772–1844) of Albany and of his associates. *Gift of Mrs. Walter Emery.*

Three volumes of Greenwood family correspondence, 1783–1863. *Gift of Miss Eliza R. Greenwood and Miss Mary M. Greenwood.*

Family Bible of Guert Van Schoonhoven (Amsterdam, 1702); four photographs of interior of William Bedlow Crosby's residence on Rutgers Place; 2 daguerreotypes, 28 photographs, and 21 prints of members of the donor's family; notes and correspondence of Frederic Van Schoonhoven Crosby, father of the donor, relating to the Crosby, Van Schoonhoven, Van Rensselaer, Delafield, and other families. *Gift of Mrs. John Gregory.*

Watercolor of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Schuyler and five daughters by Ambrose Andrews, 1824; 1900 letters and papers of George Harison, of Richard Harison (1748–1829) and of William H. Harison, of New York, relating principally to New York State lands and to their legal practice. *Gift of Miss Elizabeth Harison.*

Wedding dress worn in 1885 and lace afternoon dress worn in 1904 by Mrs. Jacob V. Ryerson, mother of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. John Bergen Hausman.*

New Testament and Psalms (in Dutch), formerly owned by Captain John C. Ten Broeck, great-great-grandfather of the donor; Dutch Psalter, formerly owned by Anna DePeyster; *Vertroostingen der Gelovige Ziele*, Dutch translation from the French of Charles Drelincourt (Amsterdam, 1741). *Gift of Mrs. George Channing Sumner, Mrs. Roger S. Stiles, and Mr. Francis Betts Hillhouse, in memory of their parents, Francis and Sarah Griswold Fitch Hillhouse.*

Four plaster busts by the donor. *Gift of Miss Malvina Hoffman.*

Daguerreotype of members of the Class of 1856 of Rutgers Female Institute, New York City. *Gift of Miss May A. Holt.*

Silver urn presented by the City of Philadelphia and dress presentation sword with an engrossed and illuminated testimonial presented by the City of New York to Captain Jacob Jones, U. S. N., for his victory of the *Wasp* over the *Frolic* in the War of 1812. *Bequest of Frank C. Jones, Sr., grandson of Capt. Jacob Jones.*

Oil portrait of Mrs. Henry Brockholst Livingston by unidentified artist. *Gift of Miss Lucille de Luze Foley and Miss Elizabeth Makin.*

Fifty-one carte-de-visite photographs of Army and Navy officers during the Civil War; 14 photographs of prison camp on Seavey's Island, Portsmouth, N. H., during the Spanish-American War. *Gift of Miss Charlotte H. Meade.*

Twenty-five photographs of New York City views, taken by the donor in 1951; collections of ephemera and amateur periodicals. *Gift of Mr. Beecher Ogden.*

Diary of Marcus L. Woodard, mate of the Clipper ship *Surprise*, on passage from New York to Batavia via the Cape of Good Hope, March –June 1861. *Gift of Mr. Seth Low Pierrepont.*

Seventy-seven letters, 1764–1769, from Esther De Berdt, to Joseph Reed, her husband-to-be; 20 manuscripts concerning General Joseph Reed. *Gift of Mr. Henry Hope Reed, their great-great-grandson.*

Civil War envelopes (119) with patriotic designs and cartoons. *Gift of Mr. Melvin E. Robbins.*

Gold chain of friendship set with 252 precious and semi-precious stones given to the donor by various friends. *Gift of Mrs. Roswell S. Skeel, Jr.*

Ninety-two stereoscopic views of American scenes; 203 postcard views, particularly of Charleston, S. C., California and the Canadian Rockies. *Gift of Mr. Abel I. Smith, Jr.*

Ivory pipe, two medals and plaid waistcoat which belonged to, and 355 letters and papers of, Ephraim George Squier (1821–1888), uncle of the donors; 13 letters to him from Admiral David Dixon Porter, U. S. N.; 118 letters of Charles W. Squier, written during the Civil War; 101 letters of other members of the Squier family, 1818–1859; account book of Ephraim Squier, 1775–1784. *Gift of Mr. Frank Squier and of his sister, Mrs. Edward J. Turnbull.*

Twenty-seven Buffalo Bill posters; 75 theatrical posters; 96 pencil sketches and 21 drawings for theatrical posters; 47 sketches of theatrical costumes; 34 photographs of actors and actresses. *Gift of Mr. James G. Strobridge.*

Silver tankard made by Benjamin Wynkoop of New York for Cornelia de Peyster and Oliver Teller, ancestors of the donor, who were married in 1712; Brooklyn ferry lease from the City of New York to William Cutting and Robert Fulton, dated January 25, 1813, signed by Mayor Pierre C. Van Wyck. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur T. Sutcliffe, great-granddaughter of Robert Fulton.*

Two drawings and two volumes of watercolor sketches by the donor; 17 postcard views along the Hudson. *Gift of Miss Marie Trommer.*